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J. A. Garfield



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OUR MARTYRED PRESIDENT.

AS A MAN, THE NOBLEST AND PUREST OF HIS TIMES.

AS A CITIZEN, THE GRANDEST OF HIS NATION.

AS A PRESIDENT, THE IDOL OF FIFTY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

GEN. JAMES A. GARFIELD,

TWENTIETH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

EMBRACING

A FULL ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE; HIS STRUGGLES WITH POVERTY
AND EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AN EDUCATION; HIS BRILLIANT SER-
VICES AS A SOLDIER AND STATESMAN; HIS ELECTION
TO THE PRESIDENCY; HIS ABLE AND PATRIOTIC
ADMINISTRATION; HIS MANFUL BATTLE
WITH RINGS AND CORRUPTION
IN HIGH PLACES.

TOGETHER WITH THE

HISTORY OF HIS ASSASSINATION,

GIVING ALL THE INCIDENTS OF HIS LONG AND PAINFUL ILLNESS,
THE SURGICAL TREATMENT, THE CONSULTATIONS OF THE
EMINENT PHYSICIANS, DAILY SCENES AT THE SUFF-
ERER'S BEDSIDE, LAST HOURS AND DEATH,
THE FUNERAL CORTEGE, BURIAL, ETC.

By JAMES D. McCABE,

AUTHOR OF "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD," "PATHWAYS OF THE HOLY LAND,"
"THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," ETC., ETC.

Embellished with a Fine Steel Portrait and Numerous Engravings on Wood.

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1881.

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PREFACE.

IT is the pride and boast of America that this is a country of self-made men. However humble may be the position of a man, it is within his power, in this land of equality and Republican Institutions, to attain the highest honors within the gift of his fellow-citizens. Our history is full of the names of men who, without friends or fortune to aid them, have risen by the force of their own abilities to the proudest position in the Republic—Washington, Jefferson, Marshall, Clay, Lincoln and their glorious compeers, were all self-made men, and carved out their great successes by their own unaided efforts. Their example shines out brightly to encourage and cheer others who are struggling onward in the road by which they climbed to greatness.

No career in all our history furnishes a more brilliant example of this than that of General James A. Garfield. Starting as a poor farmer boy, without money, position, or influence, and compelled to struggle against poverty, he has raised himself to the highest pinnacle of fame. The poor boy that drove the mule team of a canal boat was elected by his countrymen to the exalted position of President of the United States. His dastardly assassination aroused an outpouring of grief, sympathy and love which showed how strong was his hold upon the affections of the nation. (3)

It is but natural that his countrymen should desire to know the means by which this great success was accomplished. To meet this demand the author has prepared this volume, which relates the life of this truly great man. The work is more interesting than a novel, for it is true. It is the story of unconquerable determination and sublime self-reliance, of lofty purpose and inflexible resolve, of incorruptible integrity and moral courage of the highest type, of noble effort and magnificent achievement, of a prolonged struggle, crowned by the most brilliant triumphs.

The history of the dastardly attempt upon the life of President Garfield is graphically related, and the work contains a carefully written account of the long and terrible suffering of the distinguished patient, with descriptions of the daily scenes around his bedside. The skilful medical and surgical treatment pursued by the physicians in charge of the case, the heroic firmness with which the suffering President bore himself in the midst of his agony, the firm and devoted conduct of Mrs. Garfield, "the plucky little lady of the White House," the outpouring of sympathy and affection, not only from our own people, but from the nations and sovereigns of the Old World, the terrible struggle between life and death, the final conquest by the Great Enemy, the national outburst of grief, the mournful journey to the grave in his native State, the scenes along the route and at the funeral, are all accurately related, and constitute one of the most thrilling and fascinating narratives ever written. Nothing in romance exceeds in startling tragedy or wonderful pathos this sad episode in our national history.

The work abounds in copious extracts from the speeches and writings of General Garfield, for it is only by an intimate acquaintance with his views as set forth in these utterances that he can be fairly judged, or intelligently appreciated. His record is presented here clearly and without partiality, that all men may see that his life was free from stain, his services honorable and distinguished, and that his claims to the love and confidence of the American people rest upon a solid foundation of genuine merit and faithful service honorably performed, even at the price of martyrdom.

No more truly did the great Napoleon rise from obscurity to the pinnacle of fame by herculean energy and an indomitable will that carried him over the snow-capped mountains in the piercing cold of midwinter, than did James A. Garfield, by the same innate, progressive energy, rise from obscurity to the highest position attainable in this the foremost nation of the world. His life, while wrapped like a cloak in romance, had its shadows, its sacrifices, and its magnificent successes. It is an inspiring, captivating story, and points such a moral as only great deeds can. The young men of the nation should read it, for it may be to them a source of inspiration. The old men of the nation should read it, for it will recall to them holy memories of the great deeds and the great men of our past.

PHILADELPHIA, September 30th, 1881.

THE PHYSICIANS AND NURSES LIFTING THE PRESIDENT FROM HIS BED FOR A CHANGE.





JAMES AND HENRY A. GARFIELD,
SONS OF THE PRESIDENT.

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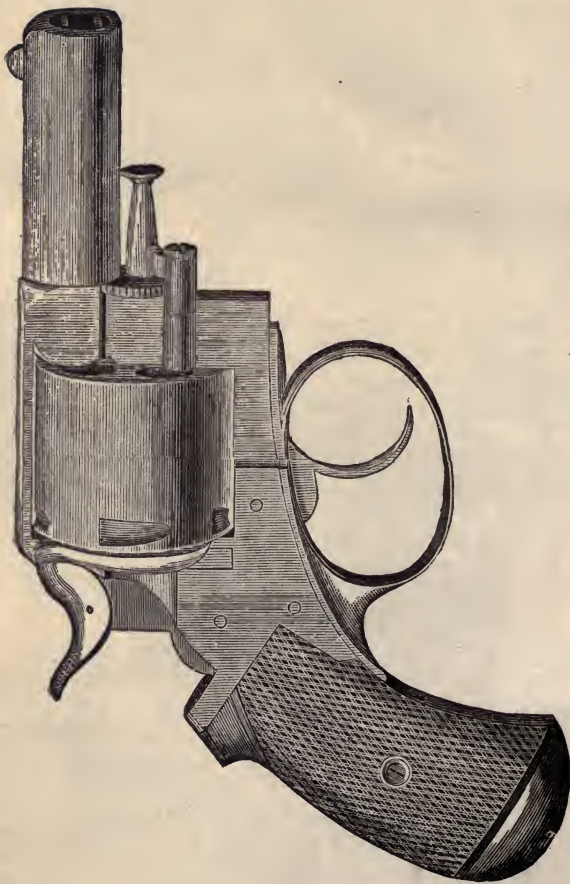
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THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF JAMES A. GARFIELD.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY YEARS.

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JAMES ABRAHAM GARFIELD was born in the village of Orange, in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, about twelve miles from Cleveland, on the 19th of November, 1831. His parents were both of New England extraction. His father was Abraham Garfield, a native of Otsego County, New York, but the ancestors of Abraham Garfield had

resided in Massachusetts for generations. His mother's maiden name was Eliza Ballou. She was a native of New Hampshire, and was a niece of the Rev. Hosea Ballou, one of the most distinguished Universalist divines of his day.*

James Garfield was the youngest of four sons. When he was scarcely two years old his father died, in 1833, leaving his family in straitened circumstances. The

* As the connection between General Garfield and his distinguished great uncle is exceedingly interesting, we quote here the following brief biography of the latter :

"HOSEA BALLOU.—An American clergyman, born at Richmond, N. H., April 30, 1771, died at Boston, June 7, 1852. He was the son of a Baptist clergyman, who was conscientiously opposed to receiving any remuneration for his professional services, and consequently he had so few advantages of education, that in learning to write he was obliged to use birch bark instead of paper, and charcoal instead of pen and ink. At the age of nineteen he joined the Baptist church under his father's care, but, having declared his belief in the final salvation of all men, he was excommunicated. He began to preach at the age of twenty-one, and in 1794 was settled at Dana, Mass. In 1801 he removed to Barnard, Vermont, while in 1804 he wrote his 'Notes on the Parables' and 'Treatise on the Atonement.' In 1807 he became pastor of the Universalist church in Portsmouth, N. H. In 1815 he removed to Salem, Mass., and in 1817 to Boston, where he became pastor of the Second Universalist church, in which location he continued for thirty-five years. In 1819 he commenced the 'Universalist Magazine,' which he conducted alone for several years, and afterwards in conjunction with the Rev. Thomas Whitmore. In 1831, aided by his grand-nephew, Hosea Ballou, he commenced the 'Universalist Expositor,' a quarterly publication, to which he continued to contribute until his death. Among his published works, besides those mentioned, are 26 'Lecture Sermons,' 20 'Select Sermons,' an 'Examination of the Doctrine of Future Retribution (1846), and a volume of poems, mostly hymns, many of which are embodied in the 'Universalist Collection' edited by Adams and Chapin. He preached more than ten thousand sermons, none of which were written till after their delivery. Two of his brothers, Benjamin and David, also became Universalist preachers. Two memoirs of him have been published, one by his son, M. M. Ballou, the other by Thomas Whitmore (1854)."—*The American Encyclopedia*, Vol. II. p. 246.

support of the family devolved entirely upon Mrs. Garfield, but fortunately for her boys she was a woman of rare energy and excellent business qualities. The friends of General Garfield are unanimous in declaring that it is from his mother that he inherits his capacity for work, and the patience and perseverance he displays in the accomplishment of his ends. Mrs. Garfield was determined from the moment of her husband's death that the family should not be separated, but should be kept together as when the father was living. To accomplish this required a hard struggle, but she was a woman of strong faith and courage, and with the aid of her three elder boys managed to gain a frugal support from the little farm left to her by her husband. Young as he was, James was obliged to do what he could in the work of the farm, and in this way learned the habits of industry which have distinguished his manhood, and laid the foundation of his strong and vigorous constitution. He worked with a will, for he liked it, and even as a child detested idleness. When but a little fellow, it was said of him by the neighbors, that he had "not a lazy hair in his head." The farm was poor, and it required constant and hard work from all the family to get a living out of it.

From his earliest years, James was anxious to obtain a good education; but the prospect before him was discouraging. He was a poor boy, and without friends who could assist him. Whatever he accomplished in life must be by his own exertions. This conviction became implanted in his mind at a very early day, and gave to him an earnestness of character and resoluteness of purpose

remarkable in one so young. During the summer months he worked on the little farm, and in the winter he worked at the carpenter's bench, his friends thinking it best that a poor boy with his way to make in the world, should be master of some good useful trade. When he had sufficiently mastered the rudiments of this trade, the neighbors employed him in such simple jobs as he was capable of performing, and in this way he was able to earn a little money.

All this while he could neither read nor write, yet he was by no means an ignorant boy. There was in Orange a so-called village school, where the villagers met in the evening during the long winters, to read and discuss such books as they possessed and the newspapers that came to them by the mail. Young Garfield was a constant attendant and an eager listener, and in this capacity picked up considerable useful information. No one would have dreamed that the illiterate boy who drank in so eagerly the prosy sentences of the county paper, would one day be the brilliant and accomplished leader of a great party, and a candidate for the highest honors in the gift of his countrymen. What a lesson of hope and encouragement does such a life hold out to the young and struggling men of America. The same means by which this man rose to fame, are open to every one who will use them as faithfully and honorably as he did.

This constant attendance upon the village school but increased the desire of young Garfield to obtain an education. But to obtain this money was indispensable, and the boy had none. Naturally he began to look about him for some avocation which would enable him to earn

THE GARFIELD HOMESTEAD, NEAR MENTOR, OHIO.





· GUTEAU, THE ASSASSIN.

money, and so obtain the knowledge he craved. The Ohio Canal passed within a short distance of the Garfield farm, and the lad made many acquaintances among the boatmen. From these he learned that the wages paid the canal men amounted to more than he could earn by his labor on the farm or by carpentering, and that they were paid promptly and in cash. He therefore determined to become a boatman, and when but seventeen years old succeeded in obtaining employment as driver of one of the boats. Though his position was humble in the extreme, he displayed such fidelity and diligence in the discharge of his duties that he attracted the attention of his superiors, who promoted him to the post of steersman, a position which brought him an increase of wages. He held this position for about eighteen months, working hard, and laying by as much as he could of his small earnings. In the fall of 1848, being dissatisfied with canal life, he resolved to take a step forward and ship as a sailor on one of the vessels plying on Lake Erie. Before he could carry out this resolution, however, he was seized with a severe attack of ague and fever, which compelled him to leave the canal and return to his mother's house an invalid. This sickness proved the turning-point in his life, and as a result of it, James A. Garfield, instead of burying himself in the forecastle of a ship, became one of the leading statesmen of the American Republic.

Young Garfield's illness lasted three months, and during this time he became acquainted with Samuel D. Bates, a young man engaged in teaching the district school that winter. Bates had recently been a pupil at

the "Geauga Seminary," in an adjoining county, and his conversation aroused in the invalid all the old desire to obtain an education, which had almost died out under the influence of his canal-boat associates. The plan of becoming a sailor was abandoned, and the young man resolved to give all his energies now to the acquirement of knowledge. He had managed with the aid of some friends to learn to read, and could do simple examples in arithmetic, but this was the sole basis upon which he proposed to build up the structure of knowledge he meant to rear. It was enough, however, for one so ambitious and determined. His mother entered fully into his plans and hopes, and moreover was able to aid him with a little money which she had saved by the most pinching economy. With this small capital he started, in March, 1849, for the "Geauga Academy," an obscure institution located at Chester, a small country village not far from Orange. He was accompanied by a cousin and another young man from his village. The young men were too poor to pay one dollar and fifty cents a week for board, in addition to the cost of their tuition, and so they took with them frying-pans, dishes, and other cooking utensils. Upon reaching Chester they rented a room in an old unpainted frame building, not far from the academy, and during their stay there "kept house" for themselves. From this day James A. Garfield earned his own living, and to his credit be it said never possessed a dollar that he had not gained by honest and faithful toil. He applied himself with ardor to his studies, for his heart was in his work, and failure had become among the impossibilities with him. His industry enabled him to distance his com-

petitors, and he soon took rank as the most promising pupil in the academy. During all this while he earned his own living. He found work with the carpenters of Chester, and his mornings and evenings and Saturdays were spent in working in the shop. He earned fair wages, and was thus enabled to pay his way as he went. As may be imagined, he had few leisure moments; but work with him was a pleasure, and he had the happiness and encouragement of feeling that he was surely preparing himself for a man's part in the great struggle of life. When the summer vacation came, he devoted himself steadily to work, and by laying aside his earnings provided a fund for the expenses of the fall and spring terms at school. During the winter he taught a district school, and so added to his income. Thus he kept on for several years, teaching in the winter, working at the bench in the summer, and attending the academy during the fall and spring terms. He practised the most rigid economy, laying aside all he could of his earnings, for the purpose of paying for a collegiate course, upon which he was now resolved to enter. He had the fortune to enjoy excellent health during this time. He was a tall, muscular, fair-haired country lad in those days, looking a good deal like a German in spite of his pure Yankee blood. Healthy in mind and body, he was also genial in temper and ever ready to oblige a friend. He was a good wrestler and ball player as well as a good student, and was a great favorite with his classmates and teachers.

In 1854, Mr. Garfield determined to leave the academy, as he felt that he had exhausted its capacity for imparting knowledge. He was now twenty-three years

old, and it was important that he should lose no time in entering college, if he meant to do so at all. During the five years he had passed at the academy and at work, he had laid by a considerable sum of money for the expenses of his collegiate course, and he was confident that his hard studies had fitted him to enter the junior class at college. But even this would require a two years' course at college, and his savings were several hundred dollars short of the amount necessary to defray his expenses. How was he to raise the balance? For awhile this troubled him greatly; but friends now came to his assistance, and he began to reap in part the reward of the good life he had led. His course at the academy had established for him a reputation for honesty and persistency of purpose, which now stood him in good stead. A gentleman who had watched his career with great interest, agreed to advance him the necessary money, taking as security a life-insurance policy, which Mr. Garfield, being in excellent health, had no difficulty in securing. This loan placed him in possession of sufficient funds to carry out his plan. The next step was to determine upon a college. After canvassing the merits of various institutions, Mr. Garfield chose Williams College, at Williamstown, Mass., as the one most suited to his needs. Before leaving home, he placed his policy of life insurance in the hands of his kind friend, as security for the loan. "If I live," he said, "I will pay you. If I die, you will suffer no loss." The debt was paid soon after his graduation, and the creditor has ever since been one of Mr. Garfield's closest and most devoted friends, reaping a rich reward in the brilliant career of the young



DR. D. W. BLISS, CHIEF PHY-
SICIAN.



MRS. ELIZA BALLOU GARFIELD,
Mother of the President.



J. STANLEY BROWN,
The President's Private Secretary.



DEATH-BED OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

man he helped to reach fame and honors. Mr. Garfield had originally intended to attend Bethany College, the institution sustained by the church of which he was a member, and presided over by Alexander Campbell, the man above all others whom he had been taught to admire and revere. But as study and experience had enlarged his vision, he had come to see that there were better institutions outside the limits of his peculiar sect. A familiar letter of his, written about that time, from which a fortunate accident enables us to quote, shall tell us how he reasoned and acted.

“There are three reasons why I have decided not to go to Bethany: 1st. The course of study is not so extensive or thorough as in the Eastern colleges. 2d. Bethany leans too heavily toward slavery. 3d. I am the son of Disciple parents, am one myself, and have had but little acquaintance with people of other views; and, having always lived in the West, I think it will make me more liberal, both in my religious and general views and sentiments, to go into a new circle where I shall be under new influences. These considerations led me to conclude to go to some New England college. I therefore wrote to the Presidents of Brown University, Yale, and Williams, setting forth the amount of study I had done, and asking how long it would take me to finish their course.

“Their answers are now before me. All tell me I can graduate in two years. They are all brief, business notes. but President Hopkins concludes with this sentence: ‘If you come here, we shall be glad to do what we can for you.’ Other things being so nearly equal, this sentence, which seems to be a kind of friendly grasp

of the hand, has settled the question for me. I shall start for Williams next week."

Some points in this letter of a young man about to start away from home to college will strike the reader as remarkable. Nothing could show more mature judgment about the matter in hand than the wise anxiety to get out from the Disciples' influence, and see something or other men and other opinions. It was notable that one trained to look upon Alexander Campbell as the master intellect of the churches of the day, should revolt against studying in his college because it leaned too strongly to slavery. And in the final turning of the decision upon the little friendly commonplace that closed one of the letters, we catch a glimpse of the warm sympathetic nature of the man, which much and wide experience of the world in after years has never hardened.

Repairing to Williams College, in the fall of 1854, Mr. Garfield was admitted to the junior class, his private studies having enabled him to master the freshman and sophomore courses. His life at Williams opened a new experience to him. He was now thrown into the society of polished young students, who looked somewhat contemptuously on the rough Western carpenter and farmer who had dropped among them. His experience from a social point of view was far from pleasant, and he was the subject of many rude remarks and much ruder treatment. He bore all this with patience, though his high spirit inwardly chafed at it. He had come to college for a fixed purpose, and that purpose he kept steadily in view, allowing nothing to swerve him from it. Disregarding the slights he constantly received, he applied himself

with energy to his studies, and made a reputation that not even those who affected to look down upon him could afford to despise. In 1856, two years after his admission, he was graduated, bearing off the honors of his class in metaphysics, a distinction which is regarded as among the highest within the gift of the institution to its graduating members. This high honor was an ample reward to him for all the slights he had endured while struggling for it. How his classmates would have smiled had they been told that the man they affected to despise was one day to become a leader whom they would gladly and enthusiastically follow in one of the greatest contests that ever marked the history of the country!

CHAPTER II.

PRESIDENT OF A COLLEGE AND STATE SENATOR.

Mr. Garfield joins the Church of the Disciples—Statement of the Religious Belief of this Church—Reckless Attacks of Political Enemies upon Mr. Garfield's Religious Views—The true state of the Case—Mr. Garfield becomes a Professor of Hiram Eclectic Institute—Is made President of the College—His life in this capacity—Preaches the Gospel—Growing Popularity—Marriage of Mr. Garfield—His Wife—Buys a House—Mr. Garfield enters Political Life—Joins the Free-Soil Party—Is Elected to the State Senate—Services in the Senate—The Secession Troubles—Mr. Garfield becomes a Prominent Union Leader—His Position in the Senate—A Rising Man—Supports the War Preparations of Ohio—Denounces Secession—Ohio's Situation at the Commencement of the Rebellion—How the State was Armed and Prepared for the War—Growth of the State Militia—Outbreak of the War—Rapid offers of Volunteers—Enthusiasm of the People—Services of Mr. Garfield to the State—Supports Governor Dennison's War Measures—Is sent to Illinois to Buy Arms—Determines to take part in the War.

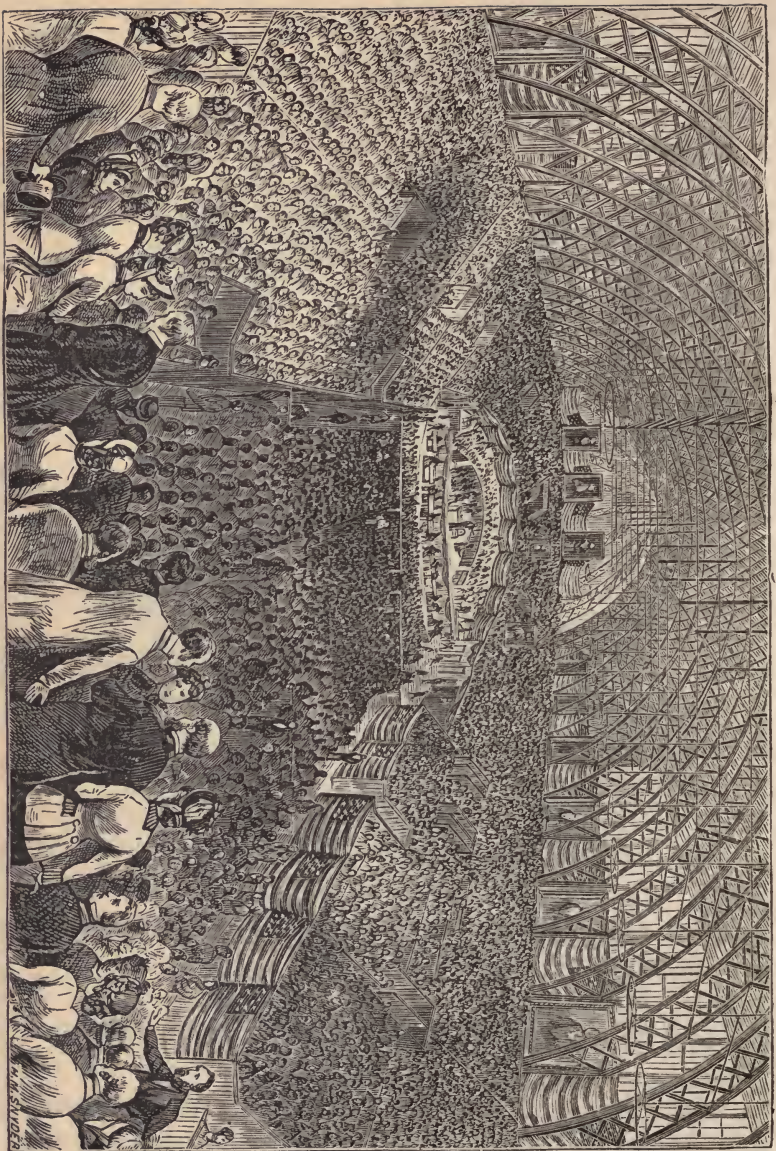
WHILE attending the Geauga Academy, Mr. Garfield made a profession of religion, and joined the Disciples' Church, a new sect which had spread with great rapidity in Ohio, under the influence of the eloquent preaching of its founder, Alexander Campbell. The religious belief of the Disciples is thus stated by the Rev. Irving A. Searles, pastor of the South Side Christian Church, Chicago:—

1. We call ourselves Christians or Disciples. The term "Campbellite" is a nickname that others have ap-



MRS. DR. SUSAN EDSON—ONE OF THE PRESI-
DENT'S NURSES.

The Chicago Convention—Balloting for Candidates.



M. W. SYDER

plied to us, as the early Methodists were called "Ranters." Good taste forbids the use of nicknames.

2. We believe in God the Father.

3. We believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God, and our only Saviour. We regard the divinity of Christ as the fundamental truth in the Christian system.

4. We believe in the Holy Spirit, both as to its agency in confession and as an indweller in the heart of the Christian.

5. We accept both the Old and New Testament Scriptures as the inspired word of God.

6. We believe in the future punishment of the wicked, and the future reward of the righteous.

7. We believe the Deity is a prayer-hearing and prayer-answering God.

8. We observe the institution of the Lord's Supper on every Lord's Day. To this table it is our practice neither to invite nor debar. We say it is the Lord's Supper for all the Lord's children.

9. We plead for the union of all God's people upon the Bible and the Bible alone.

10. We maintain that all the ordinances of the Gospel should be observed as they were in the days of the Apostles.

11. The Bible is our only creed.

The Christian Church numbers about 500,000 communicants in the United States.

Since the nomination of General Garfield for the Presidency, some of the more reckless of his political opponents have endeavored to show that he has no religious

belief. Commenting upon this, the *Philadelphia Times*, a journal unfavorable to the Chicago nominations, said recently :

“Some of the more reckless organs have assailed General Garfield as a religious heretic. While the theory of our government is that the religious belief should not hinder or promote individual advancement in public trust, it is none the less true that this is a Christian government, and that no man could reach the Presidency who was not what is commonly accepted as orthodox in his faith ; and because General Garfield is not an adherent of one of the several leading religious organizations, he has been accused of unbelief. Such a charge against him is wholly without foundation in fact, and without even plausible ground to give the semblance of sustaining it.

“General Garfield is a religious follower of Alexander Campbell, as are a number of prominent men of all political convictions in Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. Campbell emigrated to this country from Ireland, in 1809, and located in Washington county, Pennsylvania, near Bethany, West Virginia, which subsequently became his home, and where he founded a college over which he presided until his death at an advanced age. He was a Presbyterian minister, but in 1810 he and his father seceded from the Presbyterian Church and organized a new society at Brush Run, Pennsylvania, called “Disciples of Christ.” They have been popularly known as “Campbellites,” because of the name of their distinguished founder, who was one of the ablest theological disputants of his time. The first point of dispute raised with the Presbyterian Church by Campbell

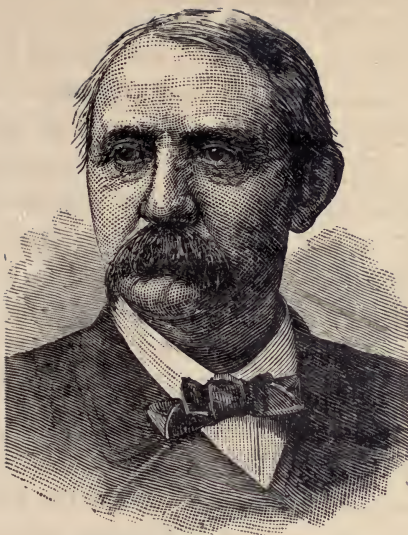
was in rejecting the entire Confession of Faith, and declaring that the Bible should be the sole creed of the new church. Subsequently the Disciples accepted baptism by immersion, and that, with the free interpretation of the Scriptures as members shall choose for themselves, sums up the whole faith of the followers of Alexander Campbell.

“The Disciples of Christ now number nearly or quite half a million of people, and they command the respect of all religious denominations by the simplicity and liberality of their faith. They have no ordained ministry, but, like the Quakers, all teach when so moved by the Spirit. So far from being unbelievers, they cherish and teach the utmost sanctity for both the Old and New Testaments as the inspired word of God, and the divinity of Christ is one of the fundamental truths of their religious system. They simply accept the Bible as their creed, rejecting all the creeds of men, and allow the widest latitude of belief in the interpretation of the Holy Word. They administer the Sacrament on every Lord’s Day, and exhibit their opposition to bigotry and intolerance by permitting us to join them, as none are invited and none debarred. To assume that the believer of such a religious faith is at war with the Christian religion, is to make bigotry one of the cardinal attributes of Christianity; and those who assail General Garfield because of the choice he has made of his church will harm only themselves.”

Mr. Garfield was now twenty-five years old, and was about to begin the world for himself in a newer sense. As the result of twenty years of hard work he had his collegiate education, his diploma, his books, his clothes,

good health, a clear conscience, and a debt of four hundred and fifty dollars. His task now was to find some employment that would support him, and enable him to discharge his debt. To go back to the carpenter's bench was not to be thought of. He had qualified himself for a higher place in life, and must now take it. His connection with the Disciples' Church now shaped his destiny as much as did his own inclinations. All his family were members of that church, which had a very large following in Ohio. In the county of Portage, not far from where the Garfields lived, the Disciples had a struggling college, called Hiram Eclectic Institute, which undertook to furnish education and religious training at the lowest possible price. It was natural that the young talented Disciple, who had just been graduated with distinction in an eastern college, should be attracted to this struggling school. He went to Hiram, and was made Professor of Latin and Greek. It was no easy place into which he had fallen. The college was poor, the professors were poor, the students were poor, and the salaries paid were small, as were the tuition fees received. Plain living and high thinking was the order of the day at the institute; and there was much hard labor to be done on the part of the new professor. It was done with characteristic energy, and from the first told well upon the success of the college. At the close of his first year Professor Garfield was made president of the college, and his field of labor was thus widened. In this capacity he not only taught and lectured, but preached also.

According to the creed of the Disciples, any person having the power, was entitled to preach, and the presi-



COLONEL A. F. ROCKWELL.



GENERAL D. G. SWAIM.

Colonel Rockwell and Gen. Swaim have been in attendance on the President ever since he was shot.



View of the Capitol at Washington, the Scene of General Garfield's labors for the past sixteen years.

dent of the college was expected to deliver a sermon every Sunday as a part of his official duty. President Garfield preached with great eloquence and effect, and his fame spread through the Campbellite settlement. It was this fact that gave rise to the story that he had been a minister, a story which he has taken occasion to deny publicly on several occasions. Garfield's purpose was to be a lawyer, and he had not swerved from it at the time he used to talk of religion and a future life to the little congregations in the Disciples' meeting house in Northern Ohio. The new president was only twenty six years old, probably the youngest man that ever held such a position. He carried into his new office the remarkable energy and vigor and good sense which are the main-springs of his character. He soon doubled the attendance at the school, raised its standard of scholarship, strengthened its faculty, and inspired everybody connected with it with something of his own zeal and enthusiasm. At the same time he diligently prosecuted the study of the law, the profession he had marked out for himself, but which he has never been called on to practise to any extent. He was also an omnivorous reader of general literature, and his remarkable memory enabled him to retain what he read. The life at Hiram was peaceful and pleasant to the hard-working president. Hiram is a lonesome village, three miles from a railroad. It lies on a high hill, and overlooks twenty miles of cheese-making country to the southward. It contains fifty or sixty houses clustered around the green, in the centre of which stands the homely red brick college structure. The people were very proud of their college

president, and he soon became well known throughout Northern Ohio. He was frequently called upon for public speeches, and these added greatly to his reputation and popularity.

Mr. Garfield's place in life now seemed won, and he felt at liberty to marry. During his attendance at the Geauga Academy, he made the acquaintance of Miss Lucretia Rudolph, a pupil, and the daughter of a farmer in the neighborhood. The acquaintance ripened into affection, and the young people entered into an engagement to be married as soon as the lover should be able to assume the responsibility of such a step. In 1857 Mr. Garfield and Miss Rudolph were married. The marriage was one purely of love, and the choice was a wise one. Miss Rudolph was a refined, intelligent, affectionate girl, who shared young Garfield's thirst for knowledge and his ambition for culture, and had at the same time the domestic tastes and talents which fitted her equally to preside over the home of the poor college professor and that of the famous statesman. Mrs. Garfield is a quiet thoughtful woman, and much of her husband's prosperity has been due to the gentle influence she has exercised over him. She has grown with her husband's growth, and has been, during all his career, the appreciative companion of his studies, the loving mother of his children, the graceful, hospitable hostess of his friends and guests, and the wise and faithful helpmeet in the trials, vicissitudes, and successes of his busy life. Immediately upon his marriage, Mr. Garfield purchased a cottage, fronting upon the college green, and here the young couple began their married

life, poor and in debt, but with brave hearts and bright hopes for the future.

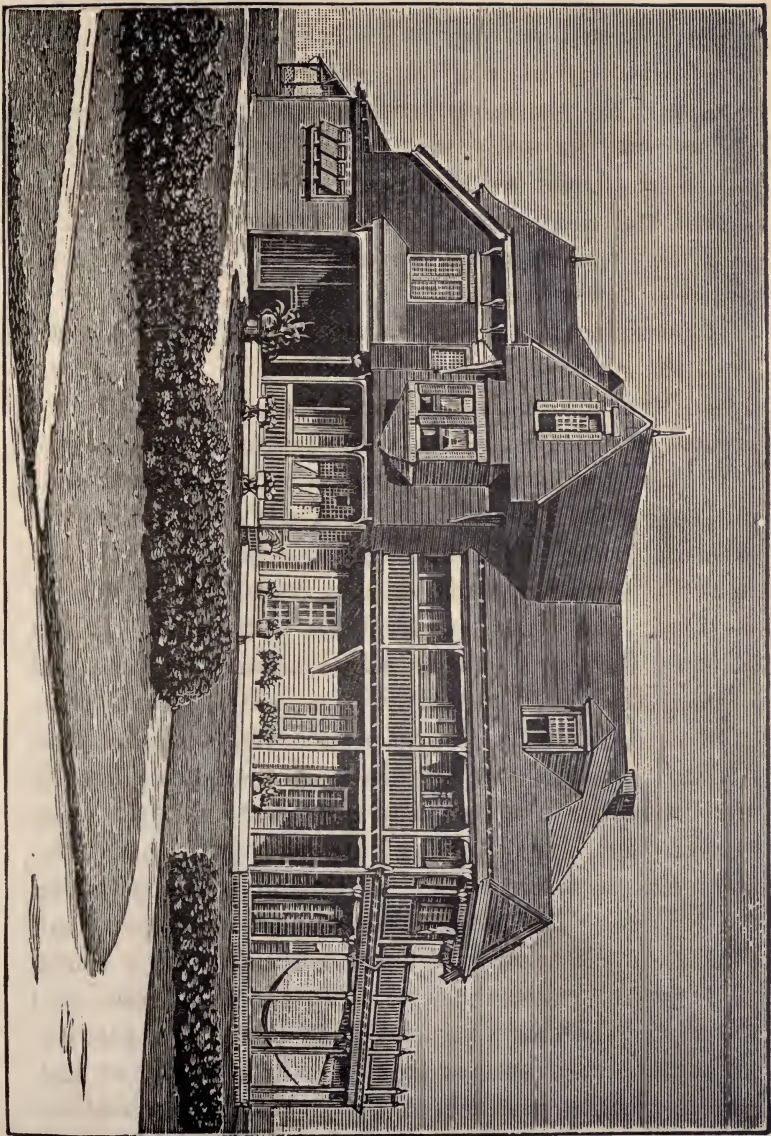
Two years after his marriage, General Garfield's political life began. His sermons had attracted great attention to him, and the people of his district began to think that so eloquent and forcible a speaker could do them good service in other capacities. In 1859 the Anti-Slavery party of Portage and Summit counties nominated him as their candidate for State Senator, and elected him by a large majority. He had taken part in the political campaigns of 1857 and 1858, and had become well known as a vigorous local stump orator. Young as he was he took a leading position in the State Senate as a man unusually well informed on the subjects of legislation, and effective and powerful in debate. He seemed always prepared to speak, and always spoke with great eloquence and force. He did not resign the presidency of his college, as he thought a few weeks spent at Columbus during the winter would not materially interfere in the duties of that position, and his associates were anxious that he should not sever his connection with them. His most intimate friend in the Senate was J. D. Cox, who subsequently became a major-general of volunteers and Governor of Ohio.

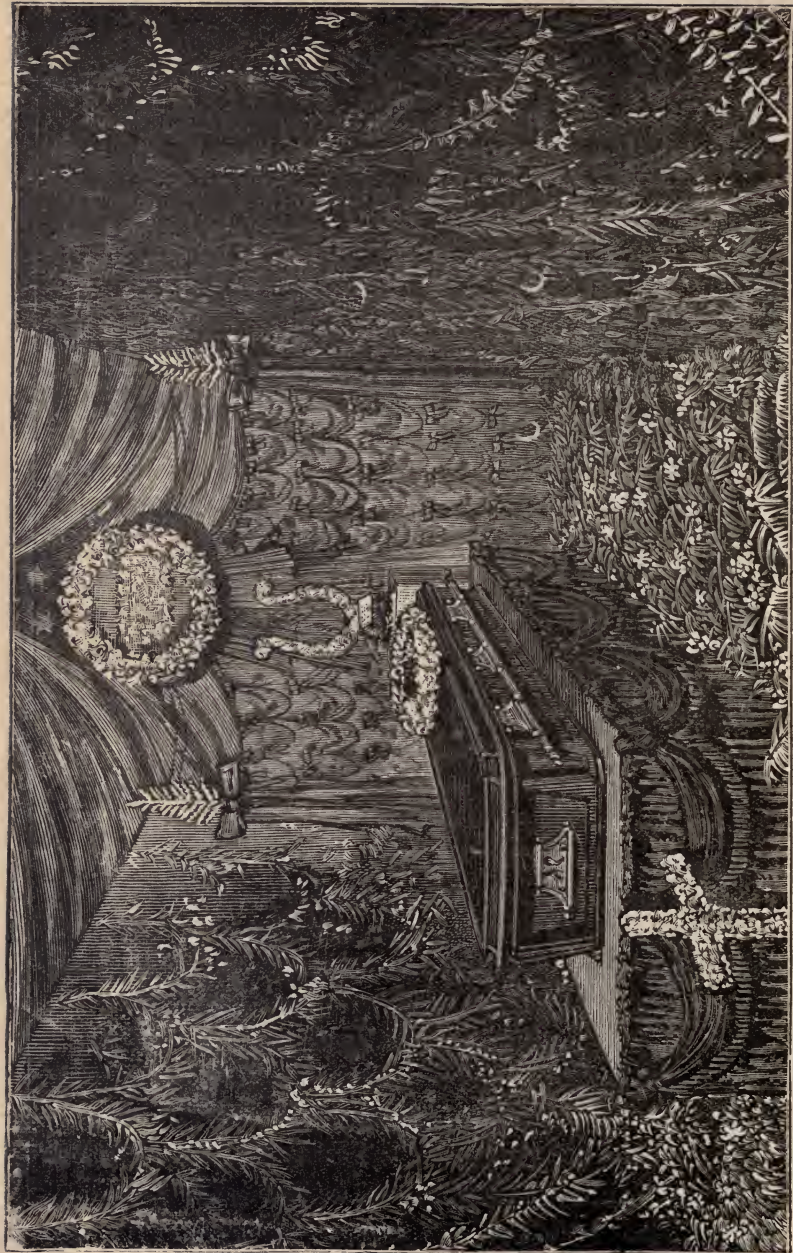
During the session of 1860-61, when the States of the South began to secede from the Union, General Garfield's course was outspoken and manly. He declared his belief in the right of the general government to coerce the seceded States, and spoke eloquently in favor of the prompt and vigorous exercise of that power. The Union, he maintained, was meant to be perpetual, and the gov

ernment should prevent its disruption at any cost. He urged upon the State of Ohio the necessity of preparing to support the general government with all its resources, and avowed his willingness to do his part in behalf of the Union should the controversy end in war. His eloquence and energy ranked him among the foremost of the Union leaders, and drew upon him the favorable attention of the entire State.

Concerning his service in the Senate, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the accomplished author of "Ohio in the War," says: "Senator Garfield at once took high rank in the legislature. . . His genial, warm-hearted nature served to increase the kindness with which both political friends and opponents regarded him. Three Western Reserve Senators formed the Radical triumvirate in that able and patriotic legislature which was to place Ohio in line for the war. One was a highly rated professor of Oberlin College; another a lawyer already noted for force and learning, the son-in-law of the president of Oberlin; the third was one village carpenter and village teacher from Hiram. He was the youngest of the three, but he speedily became the first. The trials of the next six years were to confirm the verdict of the little group about the State capitol that soon placed Garfield before both Cox and Monroe. The college professor was abundantly satisfied with the success in life which made him a consul at a South American port. The adroit, polished, and able lawyer became a painstaking general, who, perhaps, oftener deserved success than won it, and who at last, profiting by the gratitude of the people to their soldiers, rose to be governor of the State, but there (for the time

FRANCKLYN COTTAGE—THE HOUSE IN WHICH PRESIDENT GARFIELD DIED.





INTERIOR OF THE GARFIELD RECEIVING VAULT, IN LAKEVIEW CEMETERY, CLEVELAND

at least) ended. The village carpenter started lower in the race of the war, and rose higher, became one of the leaders of our national councils, and confessedly one of the ablest among the younger of our statesmen.

“When the secession of the Southern States began, national considerations came to occupy a large share of the attention of the Senate. Mr. Garfield’s course was manly and outspoken. He was foremost in the very small number (only six voting in the line) who thought the spring of 1861 a bad time for adopting the Corwin constitutional amendment, forbidding Congress from ever legislating on the subject of slavery in the States. He was among the foremost in maintaining the right of the national government to coerce the seceded States. ‘Would you give up the forts and other government property in those States, or would you fight to maintain your right to them?’ was his adroit way of putting the question to a conservative Republican who deplored his incendiary views. He took the lead in revising the old statute about treason, with a view to adapting it to the instant exigencies. When the ‘Million War Bill,’ as it was popularly known at the time, came up, he was the most conspicuous of its defenders. Judge Key, of Hamilton county (subsequently a noted member of McClellan’s staff), preluded his vote for it with a protest against the policy of the administration in entering upon the war. It was left to Garfield to make the reply. The newspapers of that day all make mention of his effort in terms of the highest admiration. ‘He regretted that Senator Key should have turned from honoring his country to pay his highest tribute of praise, at a time like this, to

party. The senator approved a defense of national property, but denounced any effort to retake it if only it were once captured. Did he mean that if Washington were taken by the Rebels, he would oppose attempts to regain possession of the national capital? Where was this doctrine of non-resistance to stop? He had hoped that the senator would not, in this hour of the nation's peril, open the books of party to re-read records that ought now, at least, to be forgotten. But since the senator had thought this a fitting time to declare his distrust of the President and of the cabinet, and particularly of Ohio's honored representative in the cabinet, he had only this to say in reply: that it would be well for the senator, amid his partisan recollections, to remember whose cabinet it was that embraced traitors among its most distinguished representatives, and sent them forth from its most secret sessions to betray their knowledge to their country's ruin.' "

Mr. Garfield was determined from the first to resign his position in the legislature and enter the army. The legislature was still in session when the time for appointing the officers of the Ohio troops came, and Garfield did not immediately press his claims for an appointment. There was still much to be done in the work of preparing the State for war, and in this he took an active and leading part. In "Ohio in the War," from which we have quoted before, Mr. Whitelaw Reid thus runs up what was done in this respect, and the part taken by Mr. Garfield:

"The State of Ohio, which in the next four years was to contribute to the national service an army of soldiers amounting in the aggregate, according to the

figures of the Provost-Marshall General, to three hundred and ten thousand men, had in 1860 a population of not quite two and a half millions. The existence of its territorial organization had only begun a year before the century; but it was already, and as it seemed was likely long to remain, the third State in population and wealth in the Union. More than half of its area was under cultivation, and more than half of its adult males were farmers, there being of this class two hundred and seventy-seven thousand owning farms, averaging a little over ninety acres to each man. So well was this most important body of the State's producers aided by the natural fertility of the soil, that they furnished each year more than double the entire amount of food, animal and vegetable, that was needed for the support of the whole population of the State. In 1860 they exported nearly two million barrels of flour, over two and a half million bushels of wheat, three million bushels of other grains, and half a million barrels of pork. The value of the exports of agricultural products for that year from Ohio swelled to fifty-six and a half million dollars.

“Not less industrious and prosperous were the manufacturers of the State. The value of their products for 1860 was over one hundred and twenty-two millions of dollars, an increase of ninety-eight per cent. in a single decade. The city of Cincinnati alone, where Indians were trading wampum and buying blankets when New York had already attained the rank of the metropolis of the continent, manufactured in 1860, sixteen million dollars worth of clothing, a larger quantity than New York itself produced in the same year.

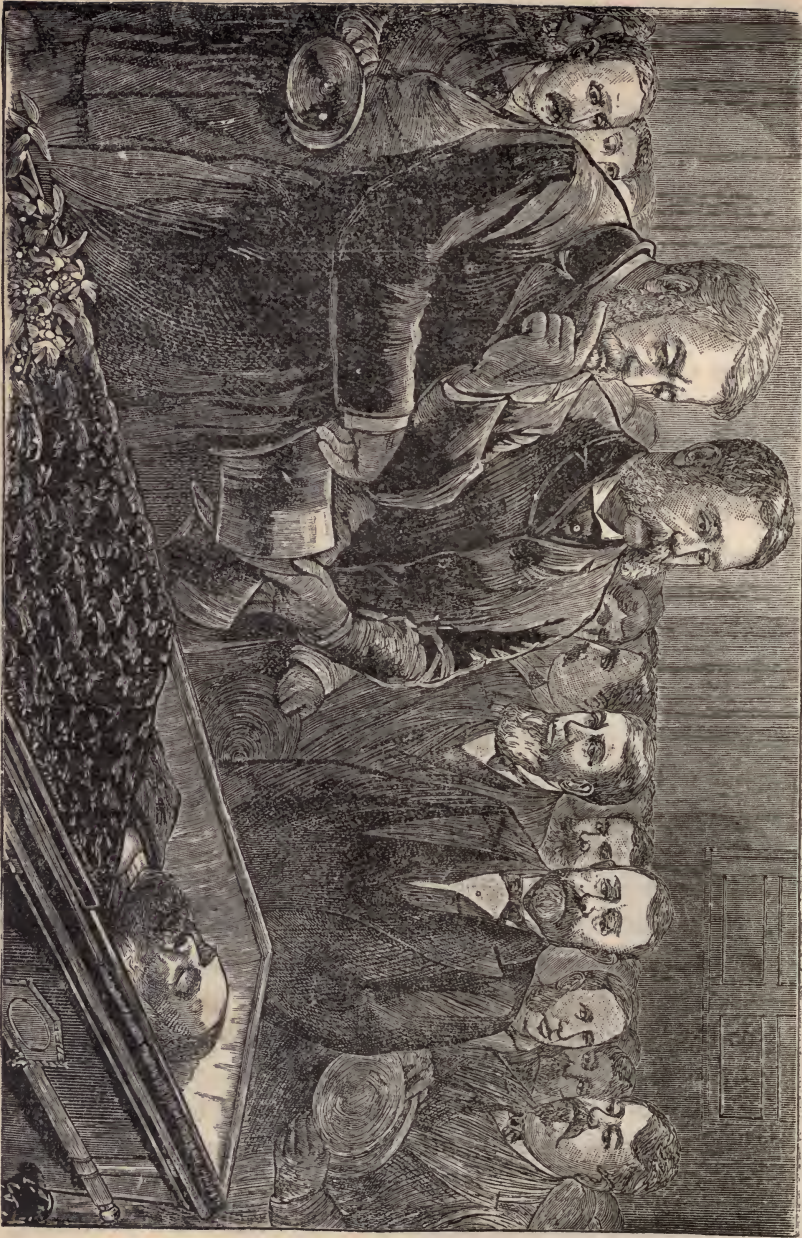
“ But the wealth of the State and the welfare of her people, so eloquently illustrated in figures like these, may perhaps be more clearly presented in a briefer statement. The assessed value of her taxable property rose in 1860 to nearly a thousand million dollars ; while, by the estimate of her Commissioner of Statistics, the entire debts of the people would not amount to twenty per cent. of that valuation. Let us not fail to add that, by the beneficent legislation of the State, none of her children were growing up without the free gift of an education that should fit them for the duties of citizenship ; that there were published and mainly circulated within her borders twenty-four daily newspapers, two hundred and sixty-five weeklies, and fifty-four monthlies, making in the aggregate seventy-two million copies ; and that so general was the devotion to religion and the provision for religious instruction, that the church edifices in the State contained sittings enough for the entire population of the State.

“ The impending war was to have for its essence the spirit of hostility to the existence, or at least to the power of the system of human slavery ; and so it comes that the position of the State on this subject is not less essential to a comprehension of her great part in the struggle, than is an appreciation of her wonderful progress and resources. The political conservatism which prosperity and accumulating wealth naturally engender, was further favored in Ohio by the circumstances of her settlement and geography. Along four hundred and thirty-six miles of her border lay slave States. From these many of her pioneers had come ; many more



JAMES G. BLAINE, PRES. GARFIELD'S SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE REMAINS OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD LYING IN STATE IN THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.



traced with Kentuckians and West Virginians their common lineage back to the eastern slope of the ancient Dominion. In time of war the most effective support to the exposed settlements of the infant State had come from their generous and warlike neighbors across the Ohio. In the long peace that followed, the heartiest friendships and warmest social attachments naturally went out to those who had been proved in the hour of trial. If her churches on every hillside taught a religion which found no actual warrant in the Bible for the system of human slavery, they at least had no difficulty in believing that the powers that be are ordained of God, and by consequence in enforcing a toleration which proved quite as acceptable across the border as the most exhaustive scriptural exegesis. North of the National Road, which for many years was the Mason and Dixon's line of Ohio politics, different views prevailed; and the people, tracing their ancestry to Puritan rather than Virginia stock, cherished different feelings; but the southern half of the State, being more populous and more influential, long controlled the elections, and inspired the temper of the government and the legislation.

“In the Presidential contest of 1848, the electoral vote of the State was thus thrown for Lewis Cass. In 1852, it was in like manner given to Franklin Pierce. But by this time a change had begun. In the very heart of the conservative feeling of the State, one of the foremost lawyers of the city of Cincinnati had for years been keeping up an antislavery agitation. He had found a few, like-minded with himself, but society and the church had combined to frown him down. Still, so single-minded and

sincere was he, that, though the most ambitious of men, he resolutely faced the popular current, shut his eyes to all hope of political advancement, and daily labored at the task of resisting the pretensions of slavery, giving legal protection to the friendless and helpless negroes, and diffusing an abolition sentiment among the conservative men of the border, and the influential classes of the great city of the State, whose prosperity was supposed to depend upon her intimate relations and immense trade with the slave-holding regions to the south of her. To this task he brought some peculiar qualifications. Profoundly ignorant of men, he was, nevertheless, profoundly versed in the knowledge of man. The baldest charlatan might deceive him into trusting his personal worth, but the acutest reasoner could not mislead him in determining the general drift of popular sentiment, and the political tendencies of the times. Conscious of abilities that might place him in the front rank of our statesmen, his sagacity, not less than his conscience, taught him to take Time for his ally, and lightly regarding the odium of his present work, to look confidently to the larger promises of the future. Loving personal popularity, he was entirely destitute of the qualifications for attaining it. Really warm-hearted and singularly tenacious in his attachments, he was perpetually regarded as utterly selfish and without capacity for friendship; so that his defects, no less than his merits, shut him up to a course which could hope for personal triumph only in the triumph of great principles. He was gifted by nature with a massive and cogent eloquence, little likely to sway the immediate passions of the populace, but

sure to infiltrate the judgment and conscience of the controlling classes in the community. His energy was tireless, and his will absolutely inflexible.

“Under such leadership, ably seconded by the faithful and true old man who so long stood in Ohio the champion of Abolition, pure and simple, and the peculiar representative of the Reserve, a new element sprang up in Ohio politics. It cast a handful of votes for Birney for the Presidency; had risen to proportions which made it a respectable element in political calculations, when it cast, what was thought to be, the vote of the balance of power for Van Buren; and had reached the height of its unpopularity with the old ruling class of the State when, in 1852, refusing to sustain General Scott on account of the ‘anti-agitation’ and ‘finality of the slavery question’ features in his platform, it persisted in again giving the votes of its balance of power to John P. Hale, and thus permitting the triumph of Franklin Pierce.

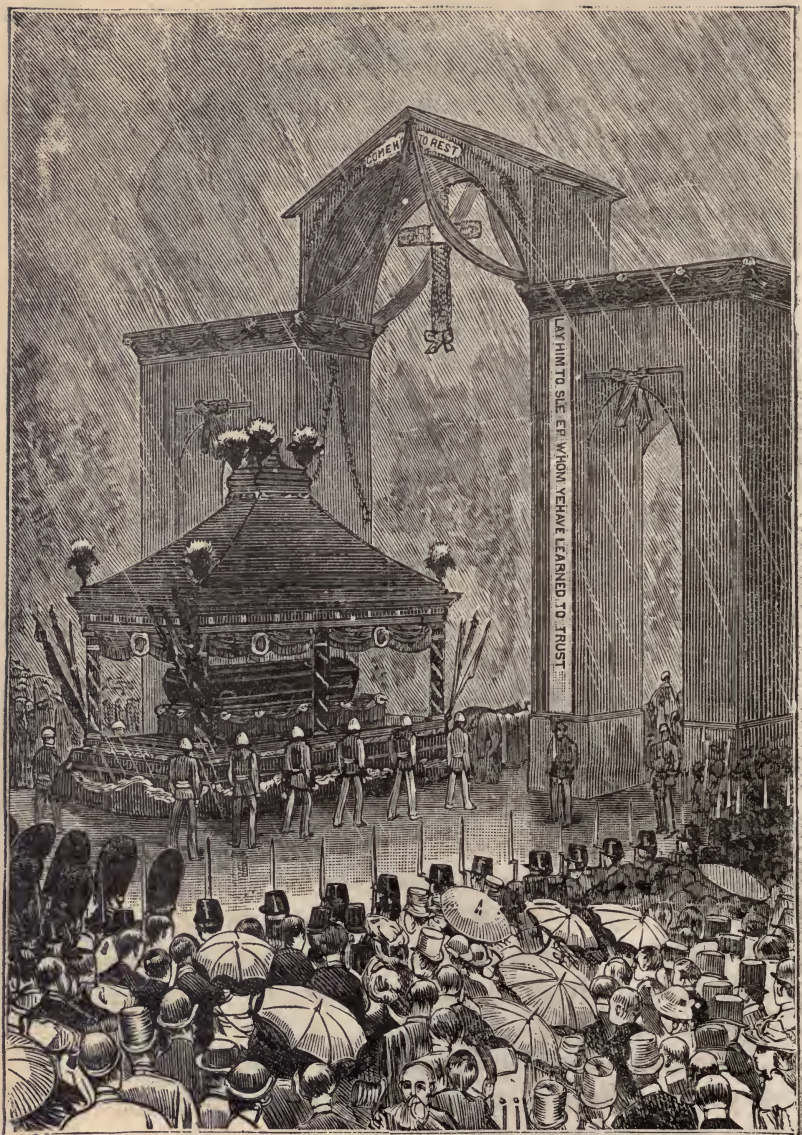
“But before another Presidential election the shrewd calculations of the sagacious leader of this outcast among parties had been realized. Holding, as has been seen, the balance of power, and subordinating all minor questions to what they regarded as the absorbing issue of slavery or antislavery, they had already, with a handful of votes, controlled a great election, and sent this Abolition leader to the United States Senate. A greater triumph now awaited him. As dexterous in managing parties as he was blind in managing men, he placed such stress upon the new organization which had risen upon the ruins of the old Whig party, that, detesting his principles and distrusting himself, they were, neverthe

less, forced to secure the votes without which the election were lost in advance, by placing his name at the head of their ticket, and bearing the odious Abolitionist in triumph into the chair of the chief executive of the State. The impulse thus given was never wholly lost; for though the people were by no means as radical as their governor, they gave at their next Presidential election a handsome majority to Fremont, and a year later again elected their Abolition leader.

“Whether it was through a far-seeing anticipation of what was to grow out of this antislavery struggle, or whether it was only a result of the sagacious forecast which in most things distinguished his administration, Governor Chase early began to attempt an effective organization of the militia. In this, as in his political views, he was in advance of his times. In every State west of the Alleghanies the militia had fallen into undisguised contempt. The old-fashioned militia musters had been given up; the subject had been abandoned as fit only to be the fertile theme for the ridicule of rising writers and witty stump orators. The cannon issued by the Government were left for the uses of political parties on the occasion of mass meetings or victories at the polls. The small arms were scattered, rusty, and become worthless. In Chicago a novel drill had been an inducement for the organization of the Ellsworth Zouaves, and here and there through the West the young men of a city kept up a military company; but these were the exceptions. Popular prejudice against doing military duty was insurmountable, and no name for these exceptional organizations so struck the popular fancy as that of ‘Corn-stalk Militia.’



WM. WINDOM, PRES. GARFIELD'S SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.



THE FUNERAL CAR ENTERING LAKEVIEW CEMETERY.

“Governor Chase at once essayed the formation of similarly uniformed and equipped militia companies at all leading points throughout the State, with a provisional organization into regiments and brigades. At first the popular ridicule only was excited ; by and by attention to the subject was slowly aroused. Some legislative support was secured, a new arsenal was established ; an issue of new arms was obtained from the general government ; and an approximation was at last made to a military peace establishment. Such was the interest finally excited that at one time a convention of nearly two hundred officers assembled at Columbus to consult as to the best means of developing and fostering the militia system ; and the next year, before going out of office, Governor Chase had the satisfaction of reviewing, at Dayton, nearly thirty companies, assembled from different parts of the State—every one of which was soon to participate in the war that was then so near and so little anticipated. His successor continued the general policy thus inaugurated, urged the legislature to pay the militia for the time spent in drill, and enforced the necessity of expanding the system. Comparatively little was accomplished, and yet the organization of Ohio militia was far superior to that existing in any of the States to the westward. All of them combined did not possess so large a militia force as the First Ohio Regiment, then under the command of Colonel King, of Dayton.

“Thus, materially prosperous and politically progressive, yet with much of the leaven of her ancient conservatism still lingering, and with the closest affiliations of friendship and trade with the slave-holding States of the

Ohio and Mississippi valleys, but with the germs of a preparation for hostilities, and such a nucleus of militia as might serve to protect the border from immediate ravages, Ohio entered upon the year that was to witness the paralysis of her industry and trade, the sundering of her old friendships, her political revolution, and the devotion of her entire energies to the business of war.

“The legislative and executive departments of the State government, upon which were precipitated the weightiest burdens of the war, had been chosen as representatives rather of the average antislavery progress of the Whig party, than of the more advanced positions to which ex-Governor Chase had been committing his supporters. Great pains were taken to welcome the legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee on their visit to Columbus, and to convince them of the warm friendship borne them, not less by the government than by the people of the State. Union-saving speeches and resolutions marked the popular current; and, as had long been usual, the Union-saving temper went largely toward the surrender to the South of everything save the absolutely vital points in controversy. The governor, in his inaugural address, while firmly insisting upon hostility to the extension of slavery, had also advocated the colonization of the blacks in Central or South America, and faithful obedience to what were regarded as our constitutional obligations to the slave-holding States. A leading member of the party in the Senate* had introduced a bill to prevent by heavy penalties the organization or the giving of any aid to

* Hon. R. D. Harrison, afterward elected from the Seventh District, to succeed ex-Governor Corwin in Congress.

parties like John Brown's, and it had come within three votes of a passage.

“More striking proof of the conciliatory disposition with which the legislature was animated was to be given. The constitutional amendment carried through Congress by Thomas Corwin, and submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, provided that hereafter no amendment or other change in the powers of government should be permitted, whereby the national authorities should be enabled to interfere with slavery within its present limits. Before the beginning of actual hostilities in Charleston Harbor, it was apparent that, carrying the effort for conciliation to the farthest extreme, the heavy Republican majority in the legislature meant to give the sanction of Ohio to this irreversible guarantee to slavery in the fundamental law of the land. Before its place on the Senate calendar was reached, however, came the bombardment of Sumter, the surrender, and the call of the President to protect the capital from the danger of sudden capture by the conspirators. On the 15th of April, Columbus was wild with the excitement of the call to arms. On the 16th the feeling was even more intense; troops were arriving, the telegraphs and mails were burdened with exhortations to the legislature to grant money and men to any extent; the very air came laden with the clamor of war, and of the swift, hot haste of the people to plunge into it. On the 17th, while every pulse around them was at fever-heat, the senators of Ohio, as a last effort, passed the Corwin constitutional amendment, only eight members out of the whole Senate opposing it.*

* The eight who had the foresight to perceive that the 17th of April,

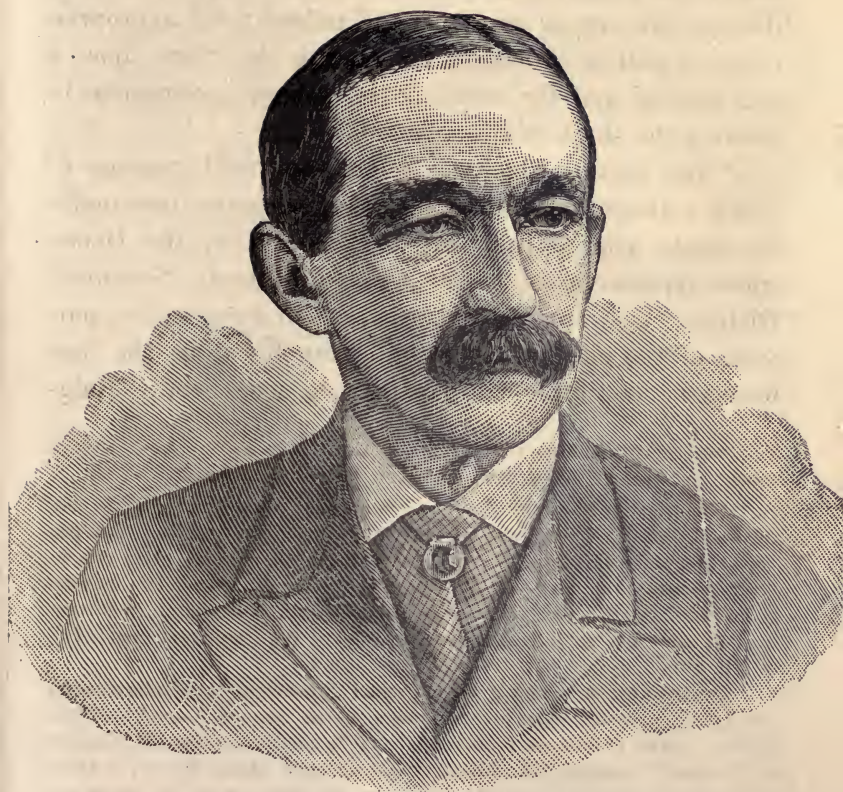
“But this was the last effort at conciliation. Thenceforward the State strove to conquer rather than to compromise. Already, on the 16th of April, within less than twenty-four hours after the President’s call for troops had been received, the Senate had matured, carried through the several readings, and passed a bill appropriating one million of dollars for placing the State upon a war footing, and for assisting the general government in meeting the shock of the rebellion.*

“The debate which preceded the rapid passage of this bill illustrated the melting away of party lines under the white heat of patriotism. Senator Orr, the Democratic representative of the Crawford County Senatorial District, ‘was opposed to the war, and even to the purposes of the bill, but he should vote for it as the best means of testifying his hostility to secession.’ Judge

1861, was not a time to be striving to add security to slavery were, Messrs. Buck, Cox, Garfield, Glass, Monroe, Morse, Parrish, and Smith.

* Some days earlier a bill had been introduced appropriating a hundred thousand dollars for war purposes. On a hint from the executive that perhaps other and more important measures might be needed, action was delayed. Then the million war bill was introduced, in response to a message from Governor Dennison, announcing the call from Washington, maintaining the necessity for defending the integrity of the Union, and concluding as follows:

“But as the contest may grow to greater dimensions than is now anticipated, I deem it my duty to recommend to the General Assembly of this State to make provisions proportionate to its means to assist the National authorities in restoring the integrity and strength of the Union, in all its amplitued, as the only means of preserving the rights of all the States, and insuring the permanent peace and prosperity of the whole country. I earnestly recommend, also, that an appropriation of not less than four hundred and fifty thousand dollars be immediately made for the purchase of arms and equipments for the use of the volunteer militia of the State. I need not remind you of the pressing exigency for the prompt organization and arming of the military force of the State.”



WAYNE MACVEAGH, PRES. GARFIELD'S ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

GENERAL GARFIELD AT THE BATTLE OF POUND GAP.



Thomas M. Key, of Cincinnati, the ablest Democrat in the Senate, followed.* He, too, was in favor of the bill. 'Yet he felt it in his soul to be an unwarranted declaration of war against seven sister States. He entered his solemn protest against the line of action announced by the executive. It was an usurpation by a President, in whom and in whose advisers he had no confidence; it was the beginning of a military despotism. He firmly believed it to be the desire of the administration to drive off the border States, and permanently sever the Union. But he was opposed to secession, and in this contest he could do no otherwise than stand by the stars and stripes.' Next came Mr. Moore, of Butler county, conspicuous as the most conservative of those reckoned at all with the Republican party in the Senate; in fact as almost the ideal of the old 'Silver-Gray Whig.'† Hitherto he had voted consistently against all military bills, and had even avowed his readiness to surrender the Southern forts rather than bring on a collision. 'Now he felt called upon to do the most painful duty of his life. But there was only one course left. He had no words of bitterness for party with which to mar the solemnity of the hour. This only he had to say: He could do nothing else than stand by the grand old flag of the country, and stand by it to the end. He should vote for the bill.'

"Thus, to recur to the figure already used, did the iron rules of party discipline and prejudice, melting beneath the white heat of patriotism, still mark in broken outline the old divisions beneath and through which the

* Subsequently colonel and judge-advocate on McClellan's staff.

† Subsequently colonel of one of the hundred days' regiments.

molten currents freely mingled. The bill passed by an almost unanimous vote; one senator only, Mr. Newman, of Scioto county, voting against it.*

"In the House, however, party opposition gave way more slowly. That same afternoon the bill went over from the Senate, and an effort was made to suspend the rules, so as to put it upon its passage. The Democrats demanded time for consultation. Mr. Wm. B. Woods † (ex-Speaker and Democratic leader) gave notice that it could not be unanimously passed without time were given. For one, he wanted to hear from his constituents. Mr. Geo. W. Andrews, ‡ of Auglaize county, denounced the excitement on the subject of war, here and over the country, as crazy fanaticism. Mr. Devore, of Brown county, 'regarded the interests of the country, south of the Ohio River as well as north of it. The despatches about the danger to Washington were preposterous, and were mostly manufactured for evil purposes.' Mr. Jessup, of Hamilton county, gave notice that if the majority wanted his vote they must wait for it. And so, the Republicans agreeing to delay in the hope of securing harmony, the bill went over, after two ineffectual efforts to suspend the rules.||

* Under the terrible pressure of public condemnation, especially in his own district, Mr. Newman shortly afterward asked leave to change his vote.

† Subsequently colonel of a three years' regiment, and brevet major-general of volunteers.

‡ Subsequently Colonel of the Fifteenth Ohio in the three months' service, and Lieutenant-Colonel, until after the Clarksville surrender, of the Seventy-fourth Ohio.

|| In these efforts twenty-five Democrats voted against suspending the rules, fourteen voted with the Republicans for suspension, and eight were absent when the roll was called.

“The next day, the Democrats having in the meantime spent three hours in excited debate in caucus, the effort to suspend the rules again failed. But the leaders earnestly assured the house that with another day’s delay there was a strong probability of the unanimous passage of the bill. A despatch had already been received from Scioto county, denouncing Senator Newman for his vote against it in the Senate, and it was said that his son was enlisted in one of the companies then on the way to Columbus. Mr. Hutcheson, of Madison county, an extreme States’-Rights Democrat, and almost a secessionist, spoke handsomely in favor of the bill, and drew out hearty applause from house and galleries. But delay was still insisted upon, and so the bill went over to the third day from the date of its introduction.

“Then all were ready. Ex-Speaker Woods led off in a stirring little speech, declaring his intention ‘to stand by the Government in peace or in war, right or wrong.’ Mr. William J. Flagg, of Hamilton county, followed. ‘He was glad that delay had produced unanimity. But he had been of the number that had favored instant action. He had done so because Jefferson Davis had shown no hesitation in suspending the rules, and marching through first, second, and third readings without waiting to hear from his constituents. He had ever advocated peace, but it was always peace *for* the Union. Now he was ready for peace for the Union, or war for it, love for it, hatred for it, everything for it.’ Mr. Andrews, of Auglaize county, had less to say of the crazy fanaticism of the excitement. ‘The act of South Carolina toward the Democrats of the North was a crime for which

the English language could find no description. It had forever severed the last tie that bound them together.'

"Amid such displays of feeling on the part of the opposition, the bill finally went through, on the 18th of April, by an unanimous vote; ninety-nine in its favor. It appropriated half a million dollars for the purpose of carrying into effect any requisition of the President to protect the national government; four hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purchase of arms and equipments for the militia of the State; and the remaining fifty thousand as an extraordinary contingent fund for the governor. The Commissioners of the Sinking Fund were authorized to borrow the money, at six per cent. interest, and to issue certificates therefor which should be free from State taxation.

"Meantime the Senate, under the leadership of Mr. Garfield, had matured and passed a bill defining and providing punishment for the crime of treason against the State of Ohio. It declared any resident of the State who gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States guilty of treason against the State, to be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary at hard labor for life.*

"With the passage of these bills all semblance of party opposition to necessary war measures disappeared from the proceedings of the legislature. Mr. Vallandigham visited the capital and earnestly remonstrated with the Democrats for giving their sanction to the war; but the patriotic enthusiasm of the crisis could not be controlled by party discipline. Under the leadership of ex-

* This bill was understood at the time to be specially aimed at Mr. Vallandigham.



ROBERT T. LINCOLN, PRES. GARFIELD'S SECRETARY OF WAR.



BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA.

Speaker Woods, a bill passed exempting the property of volunteers from execution for debt during their service. Then, as within a few days it became evident that far more troops were pressing for acceptance than were needed to fill the President's call for thirteen regiments, the legislature acceded to the sagacious suggestion of the governor that they should be retained for the service of the State. The bill authorized the acceptance of ten additional regiments, provided five hundred thousand dollars for their payment, and a million and a half more to be used in case of invasion of the State, or the appearance of danger of invasion. Other measures were adopted looking to the danger of shipments of arms through Ohio to the South; organizing the militia of the State; providing suitable officers for duty on the staff of the governor; requiring contracts for subsistence of the volunteers to be let to the lowest bidder; authorizing the appointment of additional general officers. No little hostility toward some members of Governor Dennison's staff was exhibited, but with the governor himself the relations of the legislature were entirely harmonious. In concert with him the war legislation was completed; and when, within a month after the first note of alarm from Washington the General Assembly adjourned, the State was, for the first time in its history, on a war footing.

“Before the adjournment the acting speaker had resigned to take a command in one of the regiments starting for Washington; two leading senators had been appointed brigadier-generals; and large numbers of the other members had, in one capacity or another, entered

the service. It was the first of the war legislatures. It met the first shock; under the sudden pressure matured the first military laws. It labored under difficulties inseparable from so unexpected a plunge into duties so novel. But it may now be safely said that in patriotism, in zeal and ability, it was second to neither of its successors, and that in the exuberance of patriotic sentiment which wiped out party lines and united all in common efforts to meet the sudden danger, it surpassed them both.

“Although the country had been greatly excited by the acts of secession by the several States, the seizure of forts, and the defiance of the general government, there still lingered in the minds of the most a trust that in some way the matter would be adjusted and bloodshed would be avoided. There was much talk of war on the part of the young and excitable, but the influential men and the masses were slow to believe in the possibility of war.

“Before the bombardment of Fort Sumter had ended twenty full companies were offered to the Governor of Ohio for immediate service. With the news of the surrender and the call of the President for volunteers, the excitement became fervidly intense. Militia officers telegraphed their readiness for orders. The President of Kenyon College tendered his services in any capacity, and began by enlisting in the ranks. The Cleveland Grays, the Rover Guards, the Columbus Videttes, the State Fencibles, the Governor's Guards, the Dayton Light Guards, the Guthrie Grays—the best known and best drilled militia companies in the State—held meetings, and unani-

mously voted to place themselves at the disposal of the Government, and telegraphed to Columbus for orders. Portsmouth announced a company ready to march. Chillicothe asked if she should send a company that day. Circleville telegraphed offering one or more companies, announcing that they had two thousand dollars raised to equip them. Xenia asked leave to raise a battery of artillery and a company of infantry. Canton sent up an officer, begging the acceptance of two companies. Lebanon wanted two companies accepted. Springfield wanted the same. Lancaster started a company to Columbus. Cincinnati, Dayton, Cleveland counted their offers by the thousand. Steedman, from Toledo, pledged a full regiment in ten days. Prominent men, all over the State, telegraphed asking what they could do, and placing themselves at the disposal of the authorities. The instant, all devouring blaze of excited patriotism was as amazing as it was unprecedented. Let it not be forgotten that among the first offers were some from colored men promising companies, and that, in obedience to the temper of those times, they were refused.

* * * * *

“But a single day was required to raise the first two regiments in answer to the President’s call. On the next they arrived, in separate companies, at Columbus, on their way, as it proved, to Washington. . . On the morning of the 18th of April the First and Second Ohio were organized from the first companies that had thus hurried to Columbus. They were mostly made up of well known militia organizations from leading towns and cities.

“There were no arms, uniforms, equipments, transpor-

tation for them. But the Government was importunate. 'Send them on instantly,' was the order from Washington, 'and we will equip them here.' Even among the civilians, then for the first time attempting the management of soldiers, there were forebodings concerning the policy of starting troops to defend a threatened city without guns or ammunition; but with wild cheers from the volunteers, and many a 'God bless you' from the onlookers, the trains bearing the unarmed crowd moved out of the Columbus depot, long before dawn, on the morning of the 19th of April. But before they started, fresh arrivals had more than filled their places in the hastily improvised camp in the woods beyond the railroad depot, which, with a happy thought of the first advocate for the 'coercion of sovereign states,' Governor Dennison had named Camp Jackson.

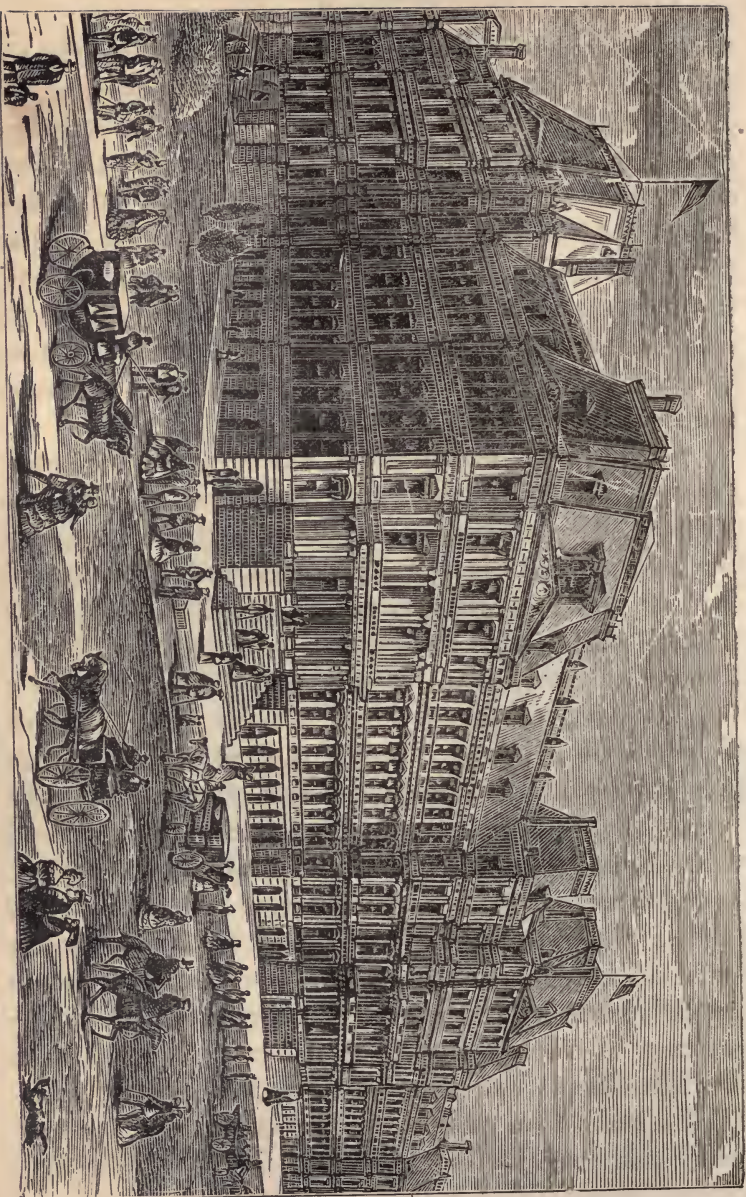
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"What it now remains to us to tell of the first war administration of Ohio, constitutes the highest claim of the maligned governor to the regard and gratitude of his state and of the country. To a man of his sensitive temper and special desire for the good opinion of others, the unjust and measureless abuse to which his earnest efforts had subjected him were agonizing. But he suffered no sign to escape him, and with a single-hearted devotion, and an ability for which the State had not credited him, he proceeded to the measures most necessary in the crisis.

"First of all, the loan authorized by the Million War Bill was to be placed, for without money the State could do nothing. The common council of Cincinnati offered to



THOMAS L. JAMES, PRES. GARFIELD'S POSTMASTER-GENERAL.



THE NEW DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

take a quarter of a million of it, and backed its offer by forwarding the money. The State bank, full of confidence in its old officer, now at the head of the administration, was entirely willing to take the rest; the common council of Columbus was willing to take a hundred thousand dollars; and offers speedily came in for smaller amounts from other quarters. The governor was anxious, however, that a general opportunity should be given to patriotic citizens throughout the State. He therefore discouraged somewhat the large subscribers, and soon had the loan favorably placed.

“Next after money came the demand for arms. For its twenty-three regiments already raised, the State of Ohio had only one thousand nine hundred and eighty-four muskets and rifles of all calibres, and one hundred and fifty sabres. The Governor of Illinois had on hands a considerable number, of which Dennison heard. He at once resolved to procure them. Senator Garfield was at hand, ready and willing for any work to which he might be assigned. Duly armed with a requisition from the proper authorities, he was dispatched to the Illinois capital. He succeeded in securing five thousand muskets, and shipped them straightway to Columbus. At the same time—for the governor, in the midst of the popular abuse, had already begun to display a capacity for broad and statesmanlike views—he was instructed to lay before the Illinois executive a suggestion as to the propriety of uniting the Illinois troops and all others in the Mississippi Valley under the Ohio major-general. Glad to hear of an officer anywhere who knew anything about war, they joyfully consented, and so McClellan’s

department was, with their full approval, presently extended from West Virginia to the Mississippi.

“Five thousand arms, however, were but a drop in the bucket, and accoutrements were almost wholly wanting. The supply in the entire country was quite limited; even in Europe there were not enough immediately accessible to meet the sudden demand; and it was evident that the first and most energetic in the market would be the first to secure arms for their soldiers. Governor Dennison accordingly selected Judge-Advocate-General Wolcott of his staff, a gentleman of fine ability and of supposed business capacity, to proceed forthwith to New York as his agent for the purchase of arms. It was under his management that the hasty shipment of tent-poles had been made, on which was based one of the earliest complaints against the State administration. He secured at once, on terms as favorable as could then be obtained, about five thousand muskets, with equipments, knapsacks, canteens, etc., to correspond. Meeting the agent of the State of Massachusetts, just as he was about to sail for England to purchase arms, he commissioned him to purchase there, for Ohio, a hundred thousand dollars worth of Enfield rifles. Subsequently Mr. Wolcott secured authority from the Ordnance Office of the War Department, to purchase directly, on the account of the United States, such arms and accoutrements as were needed for Ohio troops; and the energy and personal supervision which the governor was thus able to secure in the transaction of the government business for his State, went largely to aid the rapid arming and equipment of the Ohio troops. Before this, however,

by the aid of another agent, General Wool had been prevailed upon to order ten thousand muskets through to Columbus, and the first needs were thus supplied."

To all of Governor Dennison's efforts, Mr. Garfield gave a cordial and active support, and rendered the most valuable assistance in the task of putting the State in condition to do its full duty in the great struggle which had now fairly opened.

CHAPTER III.

THE COLLEGE PRESIDENT BECOMES A BRIGADIER-GENERAL.

Mr. Garfield organizes a Military Company among his Students—Is made Lieutenant-Colonel—Is Promoted to be Colonel of the Forty-second Ohio Infantry—Organization and History of the Regiment—A Noble Record—The Forty-second ordered to the field—Joins General Buell's Army in Kentucky—Garfield is placed in Command of a Brigade—State of affairs in the West—Garfield's first Campaign—An Important Trust—The March up the Sandy Valley—The First Blow struck—Rout of the Rebel Cavalry—Colonel Garfield wins a handsome Victory over Humphrey Marshall at Middle Creek—Flight of Marshall's Forces—Garfield sets the Ball of Victory in motion—A true estimate of the Victory of Middle Creek—A New Dodge—Out of Supplies—The Flood in the Big Sandy—Garfield forces a Steamboat to ascend the River—Garfield at the Wheel—A Thrilling Incident—Garfield wins another Victory—Drives the Rebels from Pound Gap—Is ordered to Louisville—Is congratulated by General Buell in General Orders—Value of his Operations.

As has been stated, it was Mr. Garfield's intention from the first to enter the army. He was not able to carry this intention into effect until after his return from Illinois, whither he had been sent to purchase arms, as has been related. He now set to work to organize a command, which was mainly recruited from among the students of Hiram Eclectic Institute. This company was promptly offered for service, and constituted the nucleus of the Forty-second Ohio Regiment, of which organization Mr. Garfield was appointed lieutenant-colonel by

Governor Denison. Mr. Garfield might have been appointed colonel of the regiment had he chosen to press the matter, but with characteristic modesty he refrained from doing so, and accepted the position offered to him, though it was inferior to the rank he was entitled to expect. He declared his entire willingness to start low, and learn as he advanced. Five weeks were devoted to organizing and drilling the regiment, and about the time it was complete, and ready for service, Garfield was promoted, without any solicitation on his part, to the colonelcy.

It will be interesting to the reader to know the subsequent history of this gallant regiment. The following list of its officers and the account of its brilliant career are taken from Whitelaw Reid's "Ohio in the War."

42D REGIMENT OHIO VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.

ROSTER, THREE YEARS' SERVICE.

RANK.	NAME.	DATE OF RANK.	COM. ISSUED.	REMARKS.
Colonel ..	JAMES A. GARFIELD	Aug. 14, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Appointed Brig.-Gen. Vols.
Do. ..	LIONEL A. SHELDON	Mar. 14, 1862	Mar. 28, 1862	Mustered out.
Lt.-Col. .	LIONEL A. SHELDON....	Sept. 6, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Promoted to Colonel.
Do. ..	DON A. PARDEE.....	Mar. 14, 1862	Mar. 28, 1862	Must'd out Oct. 26, 1864.
Major ..	DON A. PARDEE.....	Sept. 5, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Promoted to Lieut.-Col.
Do. ..	FRED. A. WILLIAMS....	Mar. 14, 1862	Mar. 28, 1862	Died July 25, 1862.
Do. ..	WM. H. WILLIAMS.....	July 25, "	Oct 6, "	Mustered out.
Surgeon..	JOEL POMERENE.....	Sept. 7, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Resigned July 26, 1863.
Ass't Sur.	JOSEPH W. HARMON....	Oct. 3, "	" 14, "	Resigned Nov. 9, 1862.
Do. ..	J. N. MINER.....	Aug. 26, 1862	Aug. 27, 1862	Died Dec. 13, 1862.
Do. ..	JOSEPH KALB.....	Mar. 10, 1863	Mar. 10, 1863	Resigned Aug. 27, 1864.
Do. ..	JOHN W. DRISCOLL....	" 21, "	" 10, "	Resigned July 1, 1863.
Do. ..	H. E. WARNER.....	Nov. 10, "	Nov. 10, "	Mustered out.
Chaplain.	JEFFERSON H. JONES...	" 21, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Resigned April 18, 1863.
Captain ..	T. C. Bushnell.....	Aug. 27, "	Mar. 6, 1862	Resigned Oct. 22, 1862.
Do. ..	Wm. H. Williams.....	Sept. 3, "	" 6, "	Prom'd to Major July 25, 1862.
Do. ..	Chas. H. Howe.....	" 15, "	" 6, "	Resigned May 27, 1863.
Do. ..	James H. Riggs.....	" 17, "	" 6, "	Resigned Dec. 31, 1863.
Do. ..	Chas. P. Jewett.....	" 19, "	" 6, "	Resigned July 11, 1863.

RANK.	NAME.	DATE OF RANK.	COM. ISSUED.	REMARKS.
Captain..	Frederick A. Williams.	Sept. 20, 1861	Mar. 6, 1862	Promoted to Major.
Do. ..	Andrew Gardner, jr.	" 28, "	" 6, "	Resigned Jan. 28, 1863.
Do. ..	Seth M. Barber.	Nov. 2, "	" 6, "	Honorably dis'd Mar. 6, 1864
Do. ..	Horace H. Willard.	" 18, "	" 6, "	Honorably dis'd Jan. 3, 1864.
Do. ..	Rollin B. Lynch.	" 26, "	" 6, "	Resigned March 3, 1863.
Do. ..	Wm. N. Starr.	Mar. 14, "	Apr. 14, "	Revoked.
Do. ..	Wm. W. Olds.	" 14, "	" 14, "	Killed May 1, 1863.
Do. ..	Horace Potter.	July 25, "	Oct. 6, "	Mustered out Sept. 30, 1865.
Do. ..	Wm. N. Starr.	Oct. 22, "	Nov. 17, "	Mustered out Sept. 30, 1865.
Do. ..	Melvin H. Benham.	Mar. 3, "	Apr. 22, 1863	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Thomas L. Hutchins.	Jan. 28, 1863	" 9, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Edward B. Campbell.	May 27, "	June 26, "	Transferred to and mustered out with 96th O. V. 1.
Do. ..	J. S. Ross.	" 1, "	" 10, "	Mustered out Sept. 30, 1864.
Do. ..	Porter S. Foskett.	July 11, "	" 10, "	Honorably dis'd Apr. 30, 1864.
Do. ..	David N. Prince.	Jan. 1, 1864	Jan. 29, 1864	Mustered out.
Do. ..	John B. Helman.	May 9, "	May 9, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	George K. Pardee.	" 25, "	" 25, "	Resigned Sept. 24, 1864.
Do. ..	Alvin J. Dyer.	July 25, "	July 25, "	Mustered out.
1st Lieut.	Wm. W. Olds.	Aug. 14, 1861	Aug. 30, 1861	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Joseph D. Stubbs.	" 16, "	Dec. 14, "	App. A. Q. M. of vols.; mustered out Nov. 13, 1862.
Do. ..	Wm. N. Starr.	" 31, "	" 14, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Horace Potter.	Sept. 3, "	" 14, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	George F. Brady.	" 15, "	" 14, "	Resigned March 27, 1862.
Do. ..	Herman Sæbedissen.	" 17, "	" 14, "	Resigned April 3, 1862.
Do. ..	David Scott.	" 17, "	" 14, "	Resigned Jan. 31, 1862.
Do. ..	Howard S. Bates.	" 20, "	" 14, "	Resigned Feb. 8, 1862.
Do. ..	Thomas L. Hutchins.	" 28, "	" 14, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Orlando C. Rison.	Oct. 7, "	" 14, "	Transferred to colored reg't.
Do. ..	Wm. S. Spencer.	Nov. 9, "	" 14, "	Resigned June 11, 1862.
Do. ..	Timothy G. Loomis.	" 12, "	" 14, "	Resigned June 5, 1862.
Do. ..	Marion Knight.	Feb. 28, 1862	Feb. 28, 1862	Resigned June 6, 1862.
Do. ..	Edwin D. Saunders.	Mar. 17, "	Mar. 17, "	Promoted to regular army.
Do. ..	John R. Helman.	" 14, "	Apr. 14, "	Revoked.
Do. ..	Melvin H. Benham.	" 27, "	" 14, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Wm. H. Clapp.	" 14, "	May 5, "	App. Cap. A. A. G. May 15, '61
Do. ..	Edward B. Campbell.	June 6, "	June 24, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	David N. Prince.	" 5, "	Oct. 6, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	John B. Helman.	" 11, "	" 24, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	J. S. Ross.	July 25, "	" 6, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Porter S. Foskett.	" 25, "	" 6, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Charles B. Howk.	Oct. 22, "	Nov. 17, "	Resigned Oct. 23, 1863.
Do. ..	Alvin J. Dyer.	Nov. 13, "	Dec. 31, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	George K. Pardee.	Jan. 28, 1863	Apr. 9, 1863	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Charles P. Goodwin.	Mar. 3, "	" 22, "	Resigned Aug. 5, 1863.
Do. ..	James T. Henry.	May 27, "	June 26, "	Resigned June 29, 1864.
Do. ..	Charles E. Henry.	" 1, "	" 10, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Wm. L. Wilson.	" 28, "	" 10, "	Resigned Sept. 24, 1864.
Do. ..	Henry C. Jennings.	Dec. 16, "	Jan. 28, "	Resigned as 2d Lieut.
Do. ..	Albert L. Bowman.	July 11, "	Aug. 10, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Joseph D. Moody.	Feb. 26, 1864	Feb. 26, 1864	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Augustus B. Hubbell.	" 26, "	" 26, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	John F. Flynn.	" 26, "	" 26, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Peter Miller.	Oct. 23, 1863	Dec. 31, 1863	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Henry A. Howard.	May 9, 1864	May 9, 1864	Mustered out Sept. 30, 1864
Do. ..	Matthew Rodecker.	" 9, "	" 9, "	Resigned Sept. 24, 1864.
Do. ..	Calvin Pierce.	" 25, "	" 25, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Horace S. Clark.	July 25, "	July 25, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Lester K. Lewis.	" 25, "	" 25, "	Mustered out.
1st Lieut.	John R. Helman.	Sept. 4, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Prom. to 1st Lt. June 11, 1862
Do. ..	Wm. L. Wilson.	" 17, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Andrew J. Stone.	" 19, "	" 14, "	Died.
Do. ..	Wm. H. Clapp.	" 20, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Joseph Lackey.	" 22, "	" 14, "	Resigned July 5, 1862.
Do. ..	Horace H. Willard.	Oct. 4, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Samuel H. Cole.	" 5, "	" 14, "	Resigned May 9, 1862.

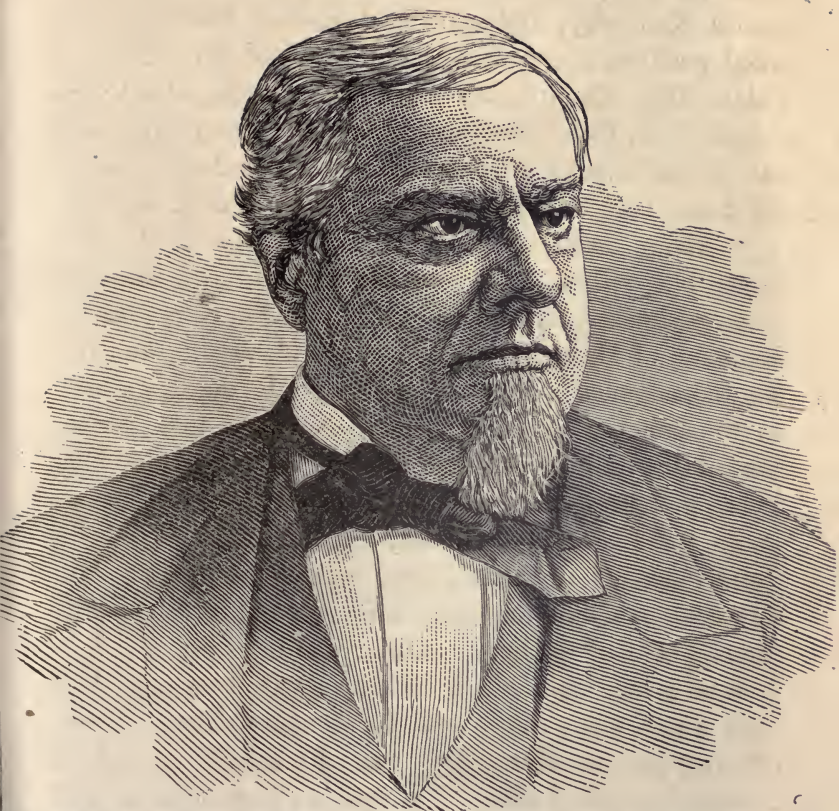
RANK.	NAME.	DATE OF RANK.	COM. ISSUED.	REMARKS.
2d Lieut.	Melvin H. Benham....	Oct. 10, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Edwin C. Leach.....	Nov. 2, "	" 14, "	Resigned June 5, 1862.
Do. ..	Porter H. Foskett.....	" 22, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Marion Knight.....	" 26, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Wm. L. Steward.....	Feb. 28, 1862	Mar. 20, 1862	Resigned Nov. 13, 1862.
Do. ..	Edward B. Campbell..	Mar. 20, "	" 20, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Henry C. Jennings....	" 9, "	Apr. 14, "	Resigned.
Do. ..	Charles P. Goodwin....	" 27, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	J. S. Ross.....	" 14, "	May 7, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	John F. Robinson.....	June 6, "	June 24, "	Transferred to colored reg't.
Do. ..	Peter Miller.....	July 5, "	Sept. 8, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Calvin C. Marquis.....	" 25, "	Oct. 6, "	Declined.
Do. ..	Charles E. Henry.....	" 25, "	" 6, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Charles B. Howk.....	June 11, "	" 6, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	James T. Henry.....	" 11, "	" 6, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	James S. Bowlby.....	" 5, "	" 6, "	Resigned Jan. 9, 1864.
Do. ..	George K. Pardee.....	Oct. 22, "	Nov. 17, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Joseph D. Moody.....	July 25, "	" 17, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Augustus B. Hubbell..	Nov. 13, "	Dec. 24, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Albert L. Bowman.....	Jan. 28, 1863	Apr. 2, 1863	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Henry Howard.....	Mar. 3, "	" 22, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	John Flynn.....	Apr. 1, "	July 20, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Matthew Rodecker....	May 1, "	June 10, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Calvin Pierce.....	" 28, "	" 10, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Horace S. Clark.....	" 25, 1864	May 25, 1864	Promoted to 1st Lieut.

"THE Forty-second Ohio was organized at Camp Chase, near Columbus, Ohio. Companies A, B, C, and D were mustered into the service September 25, 1861; company E, October 30th; company F, November 12th; and companies G, H, I, and K, November 26th, at which time the organization was completed.

"On the 14th of December orders were received to take the field, and on the following day it moved by railroad to Cincinnati, and thence by steamer up the Ohio River to Catlettsburg, Kentucky, where it arrived the morning of December 17th. The regiment, together with the Fourteenth Kentucky Infantry and McLaughlin's squadron of Ohio cavalry, proceeded to Louisa, Kentucky, and moved forward to Green Creek. The whole command advanced December 31st, and by the night of January 7, 1862, encamped within three miles of Paintsville, and the next morning five companies, under com-

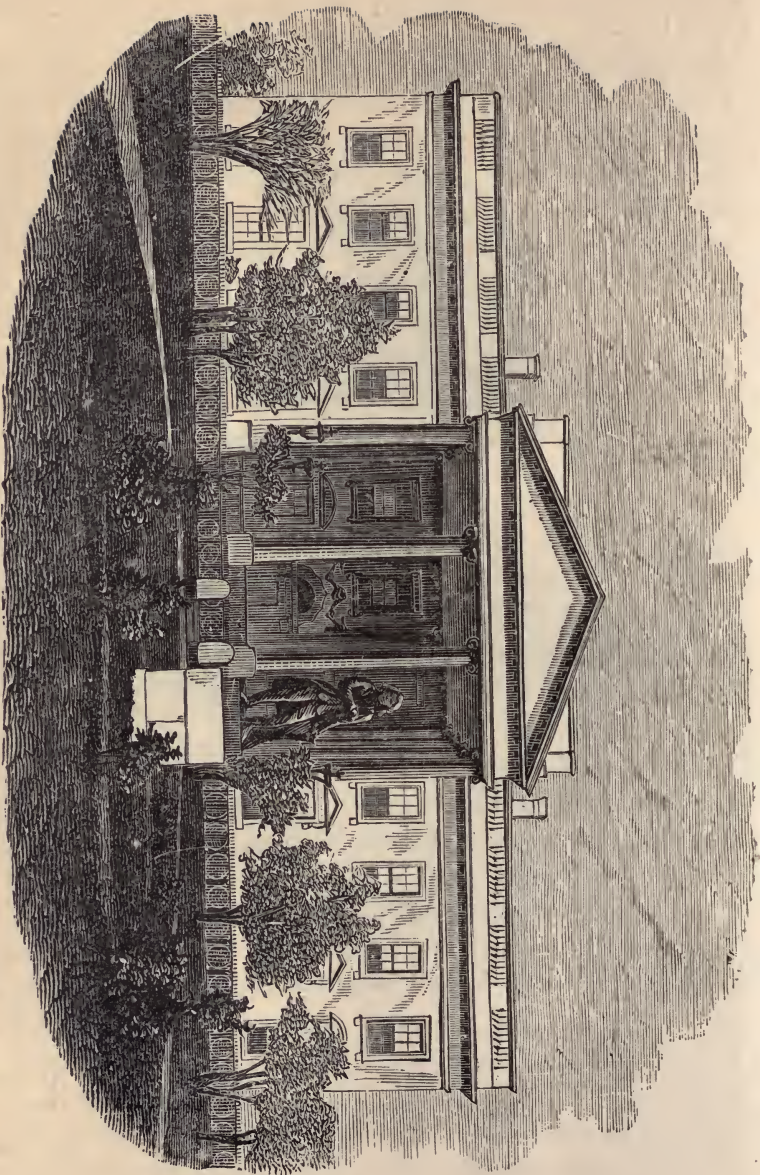
mand of Lieutenant-Colonel Sheldon, took possession of the village. On the evening of the same day Garfield took the Forty-second and two companies of the Fourteenth Kentucky, and advanced against Marshall's fortified position, about three miles south of the village of Paintsville. The infantry reached the works about nine o'clock P. M., found them evacuated, and everything valuable either carried away or destroyed; and after an all-night march, returned to Paintsville a little after daylight.

"About noon on the 9th, Colonel Garfield, with eleven hundred infantry from the Forty-second Ohio and other regiments, and about six hundred cavalry, started in pursuit of Marshall, and about nine o'clock in the evening the advance was fired upon by Marshall's pickets, on the summit of Abbott's Hill. Garfield took possession of the hill, bivouacked for the night, and the next morning continued the pursuit, overtaking the enemy at the forks of Middle Creek, three miles south-west of Prestonburgh. Marshall's force consisted of about three thousand five hundred men, infantry and cavalry, with three pieces of artillery. Major Pardee, with four hundred men, was sent across Middle Creek to attack Marshall directly in front, and Lieutenant-Colonel Monroe (Twenty-second Kentucky) was directed to attack on Marshall's right flank. The fight at once opened with considerable spirit, and Pardee and Monroe became hotly engaged with a force four times as large as their own. They held their ground with great obstinacy and bravery until re-enforcements reached the field, when the enemy commenced to fall back. The national forces slept upon their arms, and at early dawn a reconnoissance disclosed



WILLIAM M. HUNT, PRES. GARFIELD'S SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

THE WHITE HOUSE—THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENTS.



the fact that Marshall had burned his stores and had fled, leaving a portion of his dead upon the field.

“On the 11th the command took possession of Prestonburgh, Kentucky, and on the 12th returned to Paintsville, and went into camp until the first of February, when the force moved by boats up the Big Sandy to Pikeville. On the 14th of March the regiment, with other troops, took possession of Pound Gap and destroyed the enemy's camp and stores. The regiment was engaged in several other expeditions against the guerrillas. The arduous nature of the campaign, the exceedingly disagreeable weather, and the want of supplies, were disastrous to the health of the troops, and some eighty-five of the Forty-second died of disease.

“On the 18th of March the regiment received orders to proceed to Louisville, where it arrived and went into camp on the 29th. The Forty-second was attached to Brigadier-General George W. Morgan's command, and moved by rail to Lexington, Kentucky, and from there marched to Cumberland Ford, with three hundred and fourteen men for duty. At Cumberland Ford the regiment was brigaded with the Sixteenth Ohio, the Fourteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky, Colonel John F. De Courcey (Sixteenth Ohio) commanding. On the 15th of May the brigade crossed the Cumberland River and encamped at the junction of the roads leading to Cumberland Gap and Rogers' Gap. On the 5th of June Morgan's entire command took up the line of march to cross the mountains into the rear of Cumberland Gap. Moving by way of Rogers' Gap into Powell's Valley, the advance was unopposed until it reached Rogers'

Gap When a series of skirmishes ensued, nearly all of them between the Forty-second and the enemy. At one o'clock A. M., June 18th, Morgan moved against a force at Big Spring, the Forty-second leading; but the enemy fled, and Morgan moved toward Cumberland Gap, reaching it at five P. M., and found it had been evacuated a few hours before. The Forty-second at once moved into the Gap, and was the first regiment to plant its flag on this stronghold. The regiment camped on the extreme right, near Yellow Creek, performing heavy picket duty, and being frequently on expeditions. It skirmished at Baptist's Gap, at Tazewell, and on the 5th of August engaged and held back the advance of the army with which Kirby Smith invaded Kentucky.

"On the morning of the 6th a heavy force attacked the brigade two miles beyond Tazewell, and it fell back leisurely to Cumberland Gap. Company E, of the Forty second, escorted a forage train, and was nearly surrounded, but by shrewdness and gallantry it saved the train and escaped without loss. The Gap was finally evacuated, and the forces fell back through Manchester, crossed the Kentucky River at Proctor, and crossed the Ohio at Greenupsburg. The regiment acted as rear guard during the march. When the Forty-second left the Gap it numbered seven hundred and fifty men, and while on the march there were issued to it two hundred and seventy-five pounds of flour, four hundred pounds of bacon, and two rations of fresh pork; the rest of the food consisted of corn, grated down on tin plates and cooked upon them. The distance marched was two hundred and fifty miles; the weather was very dry, and the men suf

ferred for water. They were without shoes, and their clothing was ragged and filthy. The Forty-second lost but one man on the retreat from all causes, and it was the only regiment that brought through its knapsacks and blankets. These proved of great service, as the men were compelled to camp at Portland, Jackson County, Ohio, two weeks before clothing, camp, and garrison equipage could be furnished them.

“On the 21st of October the regiment proceeded to Gallipolis, and thence up the Kanawha to Charlestown, Virginia. It returned to the Ohio, November 10th, and embarked for Cincinnati, and moved from there down to Memphis, encamping near the city on the 28th. While at Portland, Ohio, the regiment received one hundred and three recruits, and at Memphis it received sixty-five more. It had from time to time obtained a few, so that the whole number reached two hundred or more, and the regiment could turn out on parade nearly nine hundred men. General Morgan’s division was reorganized, and was denominated the Ninth Division, Thirteenth Army Corps.

“On the 20th of December, the Forty-second, with other troops, under General W. T. Sherman, embarked at Memphis, and proceeding down the river, landed at Johnston’s plantation on the Yazoo. The Forty-second led the advance against the defenses of Vicksburg on the 27th of December, and skirmished with the enemy until dark. The next morning the regiment resumed the attack against the enemy thrown out beyond their works, and protected in front by timber and lagoon. The regiment continued to advance, without driving the

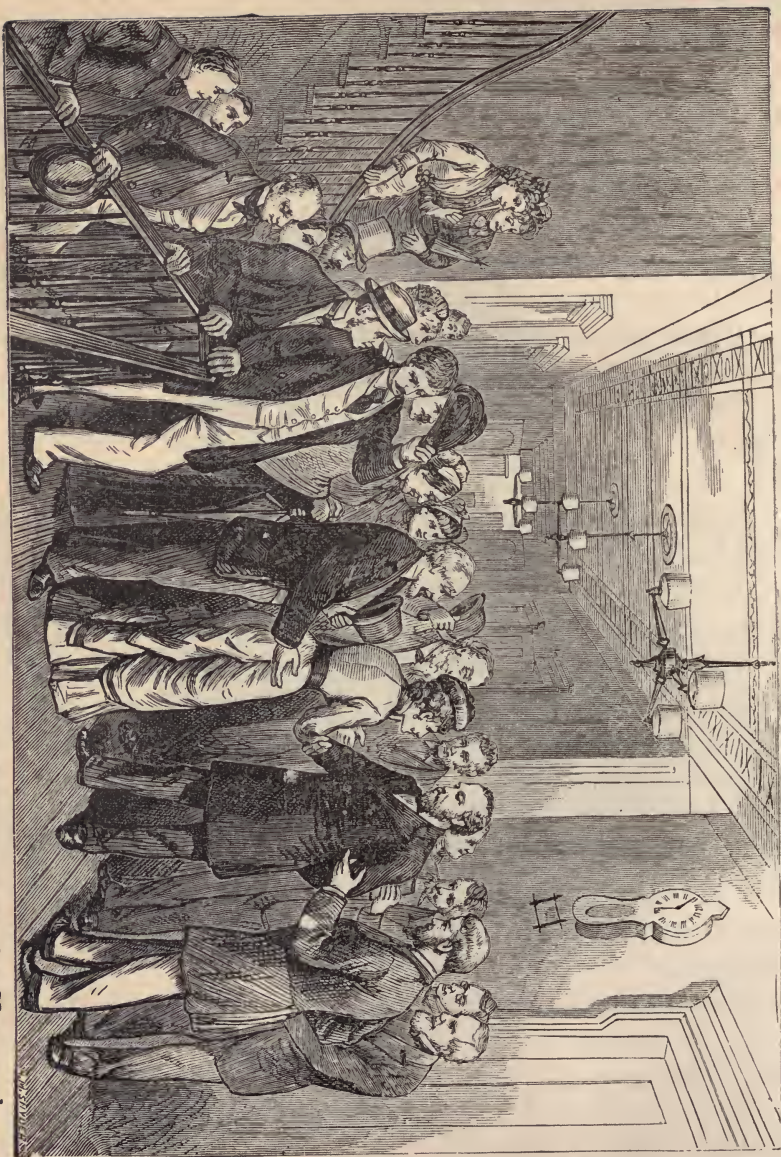
enemy, until Colonel Pardee ordered a charge, which was made with great spirit, and resulted in gaining possession of the woods and driving the rebels into their works. About nine o'clock A. M. on the 29th, a charge was made, the Forty-second being on the extreme right of the assaulting column. The storm of shot and shell was terrific, but the regiment maintained its organization, and came off the field in good order. During the remainder of the engagement the regiment held its position in line. The army finally retired, re-embarked, and moved to Milliken's Bend.

"On the 4th of January, 1863, the fleet steamed up the river to White River, and up it through a "cut-off" into the Arkansas, and up it to Arkansas Post, where the troops disembarked and invested Fort Hindman, De Courcey's brigade being held in reserve. After four hours of severe cannonading the infantry advanced, and, several unsuccessful charges having been made, De Courcey's brigade was ordered to join Sheldon's brigade in assaulting Fort Hindman. The Forty-second led the advance, and, soon after getting fairly under fire, the enemy surrendered. Seven thousand prisoners, all the guns and small arms, and a large quantity of stores were captured.

"In a few days the troops re-embarked, and on the 24th of January landed at Young's Point. Here the Forty-second was allotted its proportion of the work on the canal, and was allowed four days to perform it; but so vigorous was the regiment in the discharge of its duties, that it accomplished its work in seventeen hours. On the 10th of March the division moved to Milliken's Bend,



S. J. KIRKWOOD, PRES. GARFIELD'S SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.



General Garfield receiving the Congratulations of his Friends at the Kenard House, Cleveland, upon his Nomination.

where it was soon joined by the remainder of the corps. Here supplies were received, and four weeks were spent in drilling and fitting for the coming campaign.

“The Ninth Division took the advance in the movement toward the rear of Vicksburg. The troops moved to Richmond, Madison Parish, Louisiana, and embarked about thirty miles below Vicksburg, on transports which had run the batteries, and moved down to Grand Gulf. Here they debarked, crossed the point, again took transports, moved down to Bruinsburg, and debarked on the Mississippi side of the river. The division advanced against Port Gibson, and at twelve o'clock at night had a slight engagement with the enemy. The whole corps moved up and bivouacked near Magnolia Church. At daybreak the troops were under arms and advancing. The Ninth Division, taking the left of the line, speedily engaged the enemy, and continued in action until four o'clock P. M. The Forty-second was placed under a heavy fire of artillery at seven o'clock A. M., and continued there until nine o'clock A. M., when it was advanced to the centre of the division line and ordered to charge. The order was obeyed with spirit and courage, but, meeting with unexpected obstacles, the division commander ordered it to retire. It continued skirmishing until twelve o'clock, when it joined the Sixteenth Ohio and Twenty-second Kentucky, and charged a strong position held by the rebels, but, after a brave effort, failed to dislodge them, and was again ordered to retire. It was moved to the right, and about three o'clock P. M. made a third charge, and in conjunction with the Forty-ninth Indiana and One Hundred and Fourteenth Ohio, carried

the enemy's position. In this engagement the regiment sustained a heavier loss than any other one in the corps.

“On the 2d of May the corps advanced and took possession of Port Gibson, and moved on by way of Champion Hills and Big Black Bridge to the rear of Vicksburg. The regiment was engaged both at Champion Hills and Big Black, but the loss was comparatively slight. It participated in the charges on the works at Vicksburg on the 19th and 22d of May, the Ninth Division holding an advanced position in the Thirteenth Corps. In these assaults the regiment lost heavily, especially on the 22d. On the 10th of June the Forty-second was moved toward the right in support of some batteries, where it remained until June 27th, when it moved to Big Black Bridge. After the surrender of Vicksburg the regiment marched to Jackson and participated in the reduction of that place, and then returned to Vicksburg, where it remained until ordered to the Department of the Gulf.

“The regiment arrived at Carrollton, near New Orleans, August 15th, and on the 6th of September started on the Western Louisiana campaign. At Brashear city the Ninth and Twelfth Divisions of the Thirteenth Corps were consolidated, and Brigadier-General Lawler was assigned to the command of the brigade. The brigade moved up to Vermilion Bayou, and from there to Opelousas, where it remained a few days, and returned with the corps to Berwick Bay. On the 18th of November the brigade crossed to Brashear city, with the intention of going into Texas, but the following night it was ordered to Thibodeaux, and proceeded thence by way of Donald-

sonville to Plaquemine, arriving November 21st. The regiment remained here during the winter, and on the 24th of March, 1864, moved to Baton Rouge, and was detailed as provost-guard for the city. On the 1st of May the Forty-second, with other troops, marched on an expedition toward Clinton, Louisiana, engaged an equal force of the enemy for seven hours, and at last drove the rebels five miles through canebrakes and over the Comite River. On this expedition the infantry marched fifty-four miles in eighteen hours. The regiment embarked on boats, May 16th, and reported to General Canby at the mouth of Red River, and moved up to Simmsport, on the Atchafalaya River, where a provisional brigade was formed, comprising the Seventh Kentucky, Twenty-second and Twenty-third Iowa, Thirty-seventh Illinois, and Forty-second Ohio, Colonel Sheldon commanding. Meeting General Banks' army here, the regiment marched to Morganza, Louisiana, with it. The regiment was on several expeditions and in one slight skirmish. Here the Forty-second was attached to the First Brigade, Third Division, Nineteenth Corps. Here, also, a test-drill was held in the Nineteenth Corps, and company E of the Forty-second Ohio, won the first prize.

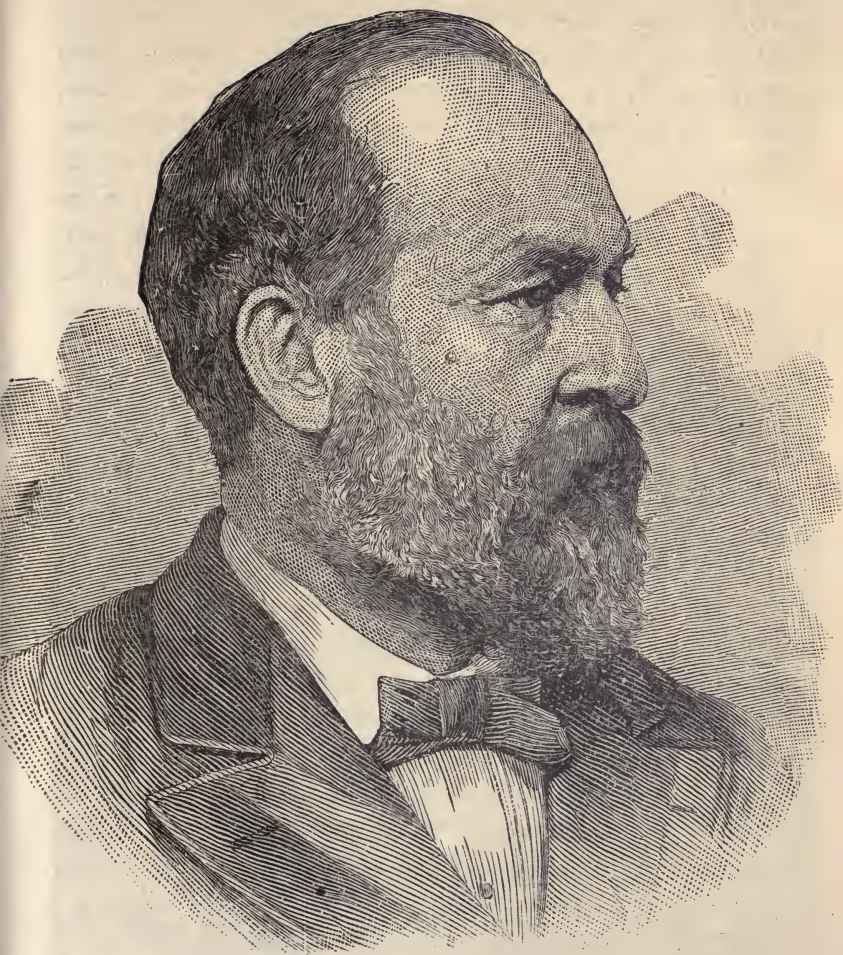
“ The brigade moved up the Mississippi, July 15th, and landed at the mouth of White River. While lying here a detachment of the regiment crossed into Mississippi, marched fifteen miles, captured two small parties of rebels, and returned within ten hours. The brigade moved up to St. Charles, on White River, and after working ten days on the fortifications, made an expedition of some sixty miles into the country. On the 6th of August the

brigade returned to Morganza, and on the 6th of September moved to the mouth of White River again. Companies A, B, C, and D were ordered to Camp Chase, Ohio, September 15th, and were mustered out September 30th. The remaining six companies were ordered to Duvall's Bluff, Arkansas. Companies E and F were mustered out November 25th, and the other four companies were mustered out December 2, 1864. One hundred and one men remained, whose term of service had not expired, and they were organized into a company and assigned to the Ninety-sixth Ohio.

"The regiment bears upon its banners the names of eleven battles, in which it lost one officer and twenty men killed, and eighteen officers and three hundred and twenty-five men wounded."

On the 14th of December the Forty-second Ohio received orders to take the field. The regiment was ordered to Catlettsburg, Kentucky, and Colonel Garfield was directed to report in person to General Buell, of whose army his command was to form a part. He did so promptly, and was cordially received by General Buell, who, though holding opinions diametrically opposed to those of Colonel Garfield, was a true soldier, and at once recognized that his young subordinate was made of the right kind of material.

On the 17th of December, Garfield was assigned by General Buell to the command of the Seventeenth Brigade, which consisted of the Fortieth and Forty-second Ohio, the Fourteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky Infantry, six companies of the First Kentucky Cavalry, and two companies of McLaughlin's Ohio Cavalry.



GENERAL JAMES A. GARFIELD



THE CATAFALQUE AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.

The first duty to which Colonel Garfield was ordered, was the task of driving Humphrey Marshall's confederate forces out of the Sandy Valley in Eastern Kentucky. Up to this time the interest of the war had been confined mainly to the country east of the Alleghanies, and but little had been attempted in the Ohio Valley. The principal engagement, that of Belmont, had been unsuccessful, and even in the east the disasters at Bull Run and Ball's Bluff had spread a gloom over the loyal States. General Buell was collecting a strong force in Kentucky, for the purpose of advancing upon the Confederate position at Bowling Green, but his movements were hampered by the presence of two co-operating forces skilfully planted on their striking distance of his flank. These were the command of General Zollicoffer, who was moving from Cumberland Gap toward Mill Spring, and the forces of General Humphrey Marshall, who was leisurely moving down the Sandy Valley and threatening to overrun Eastern Kentucky. These forces were a serious menace to General Buell, and until they could be driven back an advance upon Bowling Green would be hazardous in the extreme, if not impossible. Brigadier-General George H. Thomas was ordered to drive Zollicoffer back, and Colonel Garfield was directed to force Marshall out of Kentucky. The fate of the whole campaign depended upon the success of these movements.

Some persons were inclined to think that the choice of Garfield for this delicate and important service was rash. He had never seen a gun fired in battle, or exercised the command of troops save on parade, or in camp, or on the march. But he now found himself at the head

of four regiments of infantry and eight companies of cavalry, and was sent upon a service the success or failure of which would aid or defeat the entire plan of campaign on the part of General Buell. Opposed to him was one of the most trusted and accomplished of the Southern commanders, and a veteran who had won high distinction as the colonel of the heroic Kentucky regiment at Buena Vista, in the war with Mexico. He had under him nearly five thousand men, with artillery and cavalry, and was strongly posted at the village of Paintsville, sixty miles up the Sandy Valley. Marshall was ordered by the Confederate Government to advance to Lexington, unite there with Zollicoffer, and establish the authority of the Confederacy over Kentucky. It did indeed seem that Garfield was overmatched; but Buell had measured his man, and was satisfied that if success could be won, the young Ohio colonel would win it; and he was content to await the issue.

Upon receipt of his orders, Colonel Garfield at once joined the bulk of his brigade which was stationed at the mouth of the Big Sandy River. He at once broke up camp, and advanced up the valley, sending orders to the rest of his forces at Paris, to move across the country and join him a short distance below Paintsville. The force with which he began the movement up the valley was about twenty-two hundred strong.

Marshall was promptly informed of Garfield's movements by the Southern sympathizers of the valley. He left a small force of cavalry to hold his old position, to act as an escort and protect his trains, and with the rest of his forces fell back to a stronger position near Preston-

burgh, where he awaited attack. On the 7th of January, 1862, while pressing his advance up the valley, Colonel Garfield was informed of the position of Marshall's cavalry, and at once sent a detachment of his own mounted men to attack it, while with the rest of his command he pushed on to make a reconnoissance in force of the position he still supposed Marshall's main body to occupy. To his surprise he found the Confederate forces had retreated. Being anxious to capture the cavalry left behind by Marshall, he sent orders to the officer commanding the troops he had dispatched to attack it, directing him not to bring on the action until the main body had seized the Confederate line of retreat. The courier who bore this order was detained, and the Union cavalry in the meantime attacked the Confederate cavalry and drove it back in confusion after a short but sharp encounter. In the meantime Garfield pushed on with speed towards the road by which the Confederates must retreat. Upon reaching it, he found it strewn with overcoats, blankets, arms, and cavalry equipments, which showed that the Union attack had been successfully made, and that the Confederates had already retreated over the road, and in great confusion. He at once threw forward the cavalry with him in hot pursuit, and continued the chase until the outposts of Marshall's new position were reached. A brief reconnoissance was made, and then Colonel Garfield drew back his whole force, and encamped at Paintsville. The next morning he was joined by the detachment that had marched overland from Paris. This brought his whole force to about three thousand four hundred men, but he was without

artillery. The troops remained in camp throughout the 8th, waiting for rations, which were obtained with the greatest difficulty.

On the 9th of January, Colonel Garfield advanced upon Marshall's new position near Prestonburgh. He was obliged to leave about one thousand of his men at Paintsville to secure rations for them, but with the rest of his force he made a vigorous attempt to develop the enemy's position, and by nightfall had driven in the Southern pickets and completed his dispositions for an attack. He now ordered up the rest of his command from Paintsville, and prepared to open the attack the next morning. That night the troops bivouacked on their arms, and in the midst of a heavy rain.

By four o'clock on the morning of January 10, 1862, the Union forces were in motion. Marshall was believed to be stationed on Abbott's Creek. Garfield's plan, therefore, was to get over upon Middle Creek, and so plant himself in the enemy's rear. But in fact, Marshall's force was upon the heights of Middle Creek itself, only two miles west of Prestonburgh. So, when Garfield, advancing cautiously westward up the Creek, had consumed some hours in these movements, he came upon a semicircular hill, scarcely one thousand yards in front of which was Marshall's position, between the forks of the Creek. The expected re-enforcements from Paintsville had not arrived; and conscious of his comparative weakness, Colonel Garfield determined first to develop the enemy's position more carefully. A small body of picked men sent dashing up the road, drew a fire from both the head of the gorge through which the road led,

and from the heights on its left. Two columns were then moved forward, one on either side of the creek, and the rebels speedily opened upon them with musketry and artillery. The fight became somewhat severe at times, but was, on the whole, desultory. Garfield re-enforced both his columns, but the action soon developed itself mainly on the left, where Marshall speedily concentrated his whole force. Meantime Garfield's reserve was now also under fire from the commanding position held by the enemy's artillery. He was entirely without artillery to reply; but the men stationed themselves behind trees and rocks, and kept up a brisk though irregular fusillade.

"At last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the reinforcements from Paintsville arrived. As we now know, these still left Marshall's strength superior to his young assailant, but the troops looked upon their opportune arrival as settling the contest. Unbounded enthusiasm was aroused, and the approaching column was received with prolonged cheering. Garfield now promptly formed his whole reserve for attacking the enemy's right, and carrying his guns. The troops were moving rapidly up in the fast gathering darkness, when Marshall hastily abandoned his position, fired his camp equipages and stores, and began a retreat that was not ended until he had reached Abingdon, Virginia. Night checked the pursuit. Next day it was continued for some distance, and some prisoners were taken, but a farther advance in that direction was quite impossible without more transportation, and indeed would have been foreign to the purpose for which General Buell had ordered the expedition."

This brilliant success was won by the Union forces with the loss of but one man killed and seven wounded. Two of these were members of Colonel Garfield's own regiment, and died of their wounds shortly after the action. Thus was the first campaign of the young Ohio colonel a handsome success. Speaking of the battle of Middle Creek, sometime afterwards when he had learned more of war, Garfield modestly said, "It was a very rash and imprudent affair on my part. If I had been an officer of more experience, I probably should not have made the attack. As it was, having gone into the army with the notion that fighting was our business, I did not know any better." Captain F. H. Manton, in his history of the Forty-second Ohio Regiment, furnishes us with a juster view of this battle than the modesty of the Union commander allowed him to indulge in. He says :

"The battle of Middle Creek, skirmish though it may be considered in comparison with later contests, was the first substantial victory won for the Union cause. At Big Bethel, Bull Run, in Missouri, and at various points at which the Union and Confederate forces had come in contact, the latter had been uniformly victorious. The people of the North, giving freely of their men and their substance in response to each successive call of the Government had long and anxiously watched and waited for a little gleam of victory to show that Northern valor was a match for Southern impetuosity in the field. They had waited in vain since the disaster at Bull Run during the previous summer, and hope had almost yielded to despair. The story of Garfield's success at Middle Creek came, therefore, like a benediction to the Union cause.

Though won at trifling cost it was decisive so far as concerned the purposes of that immediate campaign. Marshall's force was driven from Kentucky and made no further attempt to occupy the Sandy Valley. The important victories at Mill Spring, Forts Donelson and Henry, and the repulse at Shiloh followed. The victory at Middle Creek proved the first wave of a returning tide."

"But though they had defeated the enemy, a very serious peril threatened the Union forces. An unusually violent storm broke out. The mountain gorges were all flooded, and the Sandy rose to such a height that steamboatmen pronounced it impossible to ascend the stream with supplies. The troops were almost out of rations and the rough mountainous country was incapable of supporting them. Colonel Garfield had gone down the river to its mouth. He ordered the "Sandy Valley," a small steamer, which had been in the quartermaster's service, to take on a load of supplies and start up. The captain declared it was impossible, Efforts were made to get other vessels, but without success.

"Finally, Colonel Garfield ordered the captain and crew on board, stationed a competent army officer on deck to see that the captain did his duty, and himself took the wheel. The captain protested that no boat could possibly stem the raging current, but Garfield turned her head up the stream and began the perilous trip. The water in the usually shallow river was sixty feet deep, and the tree-tops along the banks were almost submerged. The little vessel trembled from stem to stern at every motion of the engines; the waters whirled her about as if she were a skiff; and the utmost speed that

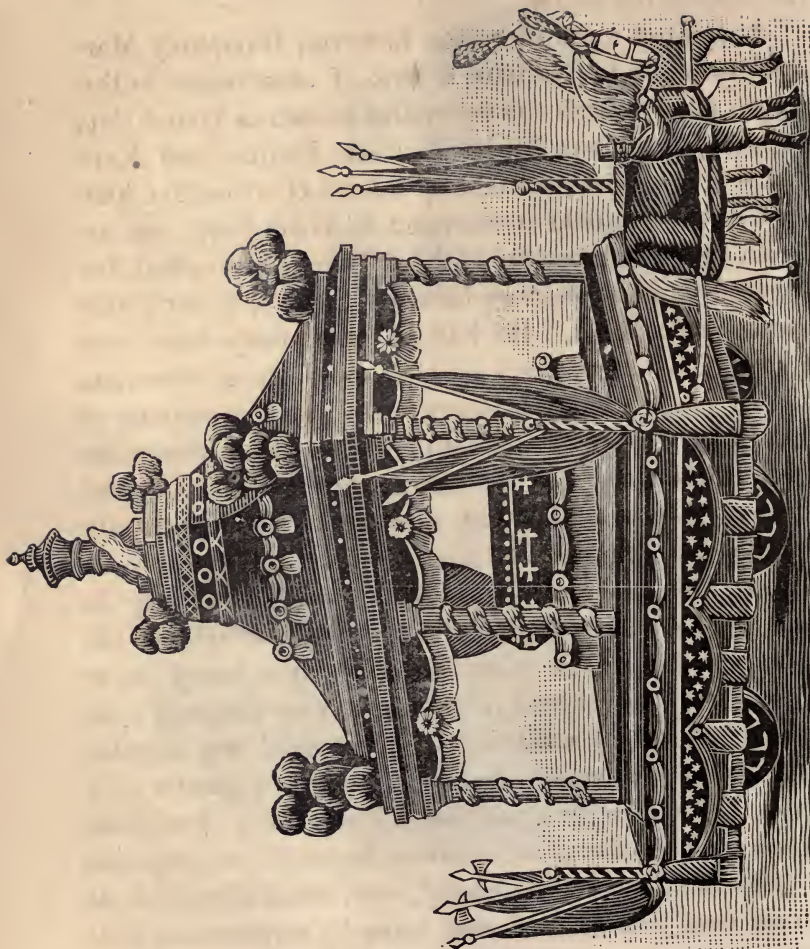
steam could give her was three miles an hour. When night fell the captain of the boat begged permission to tie up. To attempt ascending that flood in the dark he declared was madness. But Colonel Garfield kept his place at the wheel. Finally, in one of the sudden bends of the river, they drove, with a full head of steam, into the quicksand of the bank. Every effort to back off was in vain. Mattocks were procured and excavations were made around the imbedded bow. Still she stuck. Garfield at last ordered a boat to be lowered to take a line across to the opposite bank. The crew protested against venturing out in the flood. The colonel leaped into the boat himself and steered it over. The force of the current carried them far below the point they sought to reach; but they finally succeeded in making fast to a tree and rigging a windlass with rails sufficiently powerful to draw the vessel off and get her once more afloat.

"It was on Saturday that the boat left the mouth of the Sandy. All night, all day Sunday, and all through Sunday night they kept up their struggle with the current, Garfield leaving the wheel only eight hours out of the whole time, and that during the day. By nine o'clock Monday morning they reached the camp, and were received with tumultuous cheering. Garfield himself could scarcely escape being borne to headquarters on the shoulders of the delighted men."

The months of January, February, and March, 1862, were comparatively uneventful. Colonel Garfield continued to hold the Sandy Valley with his forces. A number of encounters took place between his troops and the Confederate guerilla bands. The Union forces were



MRS. LUCRETIA GARFIELD, WIFE OF THE PRESIDENT.



PRESIDENT GARFIELD'S FUNERAL CAR AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.

generally successful, and the Confederates were gradually driven from the State.

In spite of these successes, however, Humphrey Marshall managed to maintain a post of observation in the rugged pass through the mountains known as Pound Gap, situated just on the border between Virginia and Kentucky. This post was held by a force of about five hundred men. Garfield determined to break it up, and accordingly set out on the 14th of March with about five hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry, to carry this purpose into effect. He had to march forty miles over a road that was scarcely passable for a single horseman, but he pushed on with energy, and by the evening of the 15th he reached the foot of the mountain two miles north of the Gap. On the morning of the 16th he moved forward to attack the post, sending his cavalry directly up the road through the Gap, to divert the enemy's attention from his real attack, while with the infantry he moved by an unfrequented footpath up the side of the mountain, his march being concealed by a heavy snow-storm. The movements of the cavalry so completely absorbed the enemy's attention that Garfield was enabled to advance his infantry to a point within a quarter of a mile of the Southern position without being perceived. Having gained this point in safety he hurled his men like a thunderbolt upon the enemy, who, unsuspecting of an attack from that quarter were taken by surprise and were soon thrown into confusion by it. A few volleys were exchanged, and then the Confederates retreated in disorder down the mountain side, followed by the cavalry, who pursued them for several miles into Virginia. The

infantry at once occupied the captured position and secured a considerable quantity of stores. The entire Union force passed the night in the comfortable log huts of the enemy. The next morning all the structures connected with the post were set on fire, together with the stores that Colonel Garfield was unable to carry away. and the Union forces returned to their camp in the Sandy Valley, well satisfied with the success they had won.

On the 23d of March, Garfield received orders from Buell to leave a small force at Piketon and hasten with the rest of his command to Louisville. He was now to take part in the more important operations of the war.

The Kentucky campaign of Colonel Garfield was entirely satisfactory to his official superiors and to the country at large. General Buell was so well pleased with the victory of Middle Creek, that he issued a thrilling congratulatory order, in which he expressed his appreciation of the skill and good generalship displayed by Garfield, in terms of unusual warmth. The full text of the order was as follows :

“HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
Louisville, Kentucky, Jan., 20, 1862.

“GENERAL ORDERS, No. 40.

“The general commanding takes occasion to thank General Garfield and his troops for their successful campaign against the rebel force under General Marshall on the Big Sandy, and their gallant conduct in battle. They have overcome formidable difficulties in the character of the country, the condition of the roads, and the inclemency of the season; and, without artillery, have

in several engagements, terminating in the battle on Middle Creek, on the 10th instant, driven the enemy from his intrenched positions and forced him back into the mountains with the loss of a large amount of baggage and stores, and many of his men killed or captured.

“These services have called into action the highest qualities of a soldier—fortitude, perseverance, courage.”

“For his services in this campaign Colonel Garfield was promoted by the President to the grade of brigadier-general of volunteers, his commission dating from the 10th of January, 1862, the day of the battle of Middle Creek. The promotion gave great satisfaction to both the people of Ohio and the troops in the field, and all felt that a brilliant future was open to the young general.

“Later criticism,” says Mr. Reid, “will confirm the general verdict then passed on the Sandy Valley campaign. It was the first of the series of brilliant successes that made the spring of 1862 so memorable. Mill Springs, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Nashville, Island No. 10, Memphis, followed in quick succession; but it was Garfield’s honor that he opened this season of victories. His plans, as we have seen, were based on sound military principles; the energy which he threw into their execution was thoroughly admirable, and his management of the raw volunteers was such that they acquired the fullest confidence in their commander, and endured the hardships of the campaign with a fortitude not often shown in the first field service of new troops. But the operations were on a small scale, and their chief significance lay in the capacity they developed rather than in their intrinsic importance.”

CHAPTER IV.

FROM SHILOH TO CHICKAMAUGA.

General Garfield given a Brigade in the Army of the Cumberland—Joins Buell on the march—Battle of Pittsburgh Landing—General Garfield's share in this fight—Takes part in the Pursuit—The Siege of Corinth—Garfield's Brigade one of the first to enter the town—Is ordered to repair the Memphis and Charleston Railroad—Successful performance of this duty—Garfield at Huntsville—Detailed for Court-martial duty—A severe illness—Ordered to Cumberland Gap—Placed on the Fitz-John Porter Court-martial—Ordered to South Carolina—Battle of Stone River—Garfield is appointed Chief of Staff to General Rosecrans—His duties and services in this position—General Rosecrans' quarrels with the War Department—Garfield endeavors to harmonize these difficulties—Rosecrans' delay at Murfreesboro—Reasons for it—Garfield's views respecting it—A stinging letter from Rosecrans to Halleck—Garfield's advice respecting the Reorganization of the Army—It is disregarded—He urges Rosecrans to advance—A Model Military Report—The Army moves off—The Tullahoma Campaign—A brilliant success—It was really due to Garfield—Advance upon Chattanooga—Retreat of Bragg—Battle of Chickamauga—Garfield's share in it—He is promoted to be Major-General of Volunteers for his conduct at Chickamauga.

UPON reaching Louisville, General Garfield found that the Army of the Ohio was on its way to join General Grant at Pittsburgh Landing, on the Tennessee River, and had already moved beyond Nashville. He set out quickly after it, and joined it about thirty miles south of Columbia. Upon reporting to General Buell he was ordered to take command of the Twentieth brigade, which at that time formed a part of General Thomas J. Wood's division.

The latter part of the march was made with all speed, for news had come that the Confederates had attacked General Grant's army at Pittsburgh Landing, and were pressing it very hard. Late in the afternoon of the first day of the battle, the advanced forces of General Buell reached the battle-field. The division to which Garfield was attached arrived about noon on the second day, April 7th, and was at once thrown forward into the action. Garfield's brigade took part in the closing scenes of the battle, and acquitted itself with distinction, though the Union victory was already decided when it arrived upon the scene. Concerning the part played by Buell's troops in this great battle the brilliant author of "Ohio in the War" says :

"We need not repeat the sad story of the first day's disaster, which, in other pages, has been fully traced. Before Nelson could get up with his advance division, Grant was sending back earnestly for assistance, and representing the force with which he was engaged at a hundred thousand.

"The advance of Nelson's division, after waiting for some time opposite the landing for means of crossing, reached the field just as the rebels were making their last advance. It rapidly took post under General Buell's direction, and opened with musketry and artillery. No more ground was yielded, and the troops encamped in line of battle.

"There was no conference between the commanders. One of Grant's subordinates furnished Buell with a rough map of the ground, and there was a common understanding that operations must be renewed at day-

light. Through the night Crittenden's division of Buell's army arrived, and was moved out upon Nelson's right. McCook's, which arrived in time to get into action only a little later than the others, was used for further prolongation to the right.

“And now was seen, even more conspicuously than in the steady marching, the results of the fine discipline which Buell had been enforcing. At daybreak Nelson, moving in line of battle, drove in the enemy's pickets and engaged his artillery. The other divisions were then brought up, and with varying fortune the whole line advanced. It stretched over three-fourths of the battle field. The remainder was left to the arriving fragments of Grant's army. There was no straggling from that line; no confused breaking and fleeing to the rear on the first onset of the enemy. Many of the troops had never before been under fire; and they were commanded by a man who, before that eventful day, had never handled so large a force as a single regiment in action. But he was a soldier, and he was manœuvring men of whom he had made soldiers. An effort was made to turn his right flank—he promptly threw in McCook's division to check it. An effort was made to turn his left flank—he parried it, then brought up the reserves at that point, hurled the whole force against Beauregard's right, drove it, and so flanked the rest of the rebel line, which speedily fell back. Then again the whole line advanced.

“At no time did the force thus wielded lose its cohesion, but there were moments when the prospect looked gloomy. A battery was driven, with its supports, and a caisson was lost. Another battery was driven, and sev-

eral guns were lost. But the line speedily rallied, and they were recaptured. Then again it pressed forward. For hours still the struggle continued through the alternate strips of woodland and little intervals of farm-land, on which, the day before, Grant's army had retreated. McCook's division had the honor of ending the struggle, and its last charge carried it into the camps from which Sherman had been driven. The disaster was retrieved—at a cost to Buell's army of two thousand one hundred and sixty-seven killed, wounded, and missing. An equal or greater loss had been inflicted, and twenty pieces of rebel artillery had been captured."

On the 8th of April, Garfield moved forward with Sherman's advance in the pursuit of the retreating enemy, and had a sharp encounter with the Confederate rear-guard a few miles beyond the battle-field.

The Confederates retreated to their strong position at Corinth. The Union army advanced to that point, and General Halleck assumed the command of all the forces. The Confederate position was formally invested, and a regular siege of the place was begun. General Garfield's brigade bore its full share in the tiresome and laborious operations of the siege. On the 30th of May the Confederates completed the evacuation of Corinth, which they had begun some weeks ago, and retired in safety to a position farther south, leaving to General Halleck, as the fruits of his siege operations, their deserted works and about four hundred prisoners. The Union forces occupied Corinth the next day, Garfield's brigade being among the first to enter the abandoned stronghold.

Corinth having fallen, General Buell was ordered by

General Halleck to advance through North Alabama to Chattanooga, Tennessee, for the purpose of liberating East Tennessee. General Buell urged a more northerly route, leading through Middle Tennessee and McMinnville, but having for its end the occupation of the same points, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Dalton. Halleck accepted this change, but on the 12th of June withdrew his consent to it, and ordered Buell to advance along the line of the Memphis and Charleston railway, with Corinth as a second base. He was directed to repair the railroad as he advanced. To General Garfield's brigade, General Buell assigned the task of repairing the railroad eastward from Corinth to Decatur, an arduous task, and one which subsequently proved of no practical benefit during the campaign which followed. Garfield executed his orders as promptly as was possible. Crossing the Tennessee River at Decatur, he advanced to Huntsville, Alabama, where he remained during the rest of the campaign.

While at Huntsville, General Garfield was made president of a court-martial appointed for the trial of Colonel Turchin, whose command had committed unpardonable excesses in its reoccupation of Athens, Alabama. The ability which he displayed in the trial of this case, which resulted in the dismissal of Colonel Turchin from the army, attracted the attention of his superiors, and caused him to be detailed on several other courts-martial.

The malarious character of the country in which he was serving revived the old tendency to fever and ague which General Garfield had contracted when a boy boatman on the Ohio canal, and he was now seized with an attack of chills and fever so violent that he was sent

home on sick leave about the first of August, 1862. About the same time orders were received from Washington, tendering him a new and more important command. The Secretary of War had formed a high estimate of General Garfield's military ability, an opinion which he continued to entertain throughout the war, and he now ordered General Garfield to repair at once to Cumberland Gap, and relieve General George W. Morgan of the command of the Union forces at that point. When these orders reached General Garfield he was confined to his bed, and was too ill to execute them. About a month later the Secretary of War ordered him to report to him in person, at Washington, as soon as the state of his health would permit him to return to duty.

Reaching Washington, he found that he had been appointed by the Secretary of War one of the first members of the court-martial summoned for the trial of General Fitz-John Porter on charges preferred against him by General Pope. This selection was caused by the confidence which the Government had come to repose in General Garfield's knowledge of the law, his excellent judgment and impartiality, as well as his sterling devotion to the Union. He attended the sessions of the court throughout the trial with most earnest attention, and gave his vote for the verdict by which General Porter was dismissed from the army and rendered incapable of holding any position of profit or trust under the Government of the United States. He has always maintained the justice of this sentence, and during his subsequent service in Congress has firmly opposed any and all attempts to reopen the matter or to set aside the sentence

of the court-martial. He declared that the evidence before the court showed beyond question that Porter had wilfully permitted the defeat of Pope's army at the second battle of Bull Run, and that no less punishment than absolute dismissal from the service would be at all adequate to his offense. The duties of the court-martial detained General Garfield in Washington during almost the whole of the autumn of 1862. The president of the court was Major-General David Hunter, who was to take command in South Carolina upon the adjournment of the court-martial. He conceived a warm friendship for Garfield, which was returned, and was drawn to him especially by the strong antislavery views of the latter, which had been greatly strengthened by his experience during the war. General Hunter applied for and obtained an order from the War Department detailing General Garfield for service with him in South Carolina. This appointment was very gratifying to General Garfield, and he was in the midst of his preparations to proceed to Port Royal, when the order was revoked, and he was directed to proceed to a new field of duty. In the last days of December, 1862, the western army, in which General Garfield had won his first distinction, fought the terrible battle of Stone River, or Murfreesboro, winning a memorable victory. Among the killed was the lamented General Garesché, chief of staff to General Rosecrans, the commander of the army. The post thus made vacant was one of the greatest importance, and as General Garesché had been regarded as one of the most brilliant officers in the service, it was felt that his successor must be a man who would not suffer upon comparison with

him The Secretary of War determined to appoint General Garfield to the vacancy; and so, early in January, 1863, his South Carolina appointment was revoked, and he was ordered to proceed to Tennessee and join General Rosecrans.

“The chief of staff should bear the same relation to his general that a minister of state does to his sovereign. What this last relation is the most brilliant of recent historians shall tell us: ‘The difference between a servant and a minister of state lies in this, that the servant obeys the orders given him without troubling himself concerning the question, whether his master is right or wrong; while a minister of state declines to be the instrument for giving effect to measures which he deems to be hurtful to his country. The chancellor of the Russian Empire was sagacious and politic. . . That the Czar was wrong in these transactions against Turkey no man knew better. . . But unhappily for the Czar and for his empire, the minister of state did not enjoy so commanding a station as to be able to put restraint upon his sovereign, nor even perhaps to offer him counsel in his angry mood.’ We are now to see that in some respects our chief of staff came to a singular experience.

“From the day of his appointment General Garfield became the intimate associate and confidential adviser of his chief. But he did not occupy so commanding a station as to be able to put restraint upon him.

“The time of General Garfield’s arrival marks the beginning of that period of quarrels with the war department, in which General Rosecrans frittered away his influence and paved the road for his removal. We have

seen, in tracing the career of that great strategist and gallant soldier, how unwise he always was in caring for his own interests, and how imprudent was the most of his intercourse with his superiors. Yet he was nearly always right in his demands. General Garfield earnestly sympathized with his appeals for more cavalry and for revolving arms, a demand which General Buell had made quite as emphatically as his successor, and with an accurate prediction of the evils that would flow from its absence. But Garfield did all that lay in his power to soften the tone of asperity which his chief adopted in his despatches to Washington. Sometimes he took the responsibility of totally suppressing an angry message. Oftener he ventured to soften the phraseology. But in all this there was a limit beyond which he could not go; and when Rosecrans had pronounced certain statements of the department 'a profound, grievous, cruel, and ungenerous official and personal wrong,' the good offices of the chief of staff were no longer efficacious—the breach was irreparable. Thenceforward he could only strive to make victories in the field atone for errors in council."

The army of General Rosecrans remained at Murfreesboro from the 4th of January to the 23d of June, 1863. In his testimony before the committee on the conduct of the war, General Rosecrans explains this delay by the weakness of his cavalry force, the scarcity of forage, the nature of the roads, and the policy of holding Bragg on his front rather than driving him out of Tennessee, only that he might unite with Joseph E. Johnston and fall upon Grant who was still ineffectually struggling before Vicksburg. In his sketch of his mili-

tary career, officially furnished to the war department, he says: "The detachment of General Burnside's troops to Vicksburg, the uncertainty of the issue of our operations there, and the necessity of 'nursing,' so to speak, General Bragg on my front, to keep him from retiring behind the mountain and the Tennessee, whence he could and would have been obliged to send heavy re-enforcements to Johnston, delayed the advance of my army until the 23d of June, when, the circumstances at Vicksburg and the arrival of all our cavalry horse warranting it, we began the campaign. And in his correspondence with the general-in-chief, he said that to fight in Tennessee while Grant was about fighting at Vicksburg, would violate one of the fundamental maxims of war, the proper application of which would forbid this nation from engaging all its forces in the great West at the same time, so as to leave it without a single reserve to stem the current of possible disaster."

"Some of these considerations are of undoubted weight; but on the whole they will hardly seem now to have afforded sufficient cause for the delay. In point of fact, Bragg profited by it to detach a considerable portion of his troops to the rebel lines of the south-west, the very result which Rosecrans imagined himself to be hindering. There are no traces of complaint from Grant himself on the subject, but his friends were not silent; and there is some reason to think that their importunity served still farther to exasperate the already dissatisfied feelings of the general-in-chief.

"Presently there sprang up an extraordinary state of affairs between that officer and General Rosecrans.

The latter asked for cavalry. General Halleck replied as if he thought it a complaint. Rosecrans telegraphed the Secretary of War. In reply came fresh hints from Halleck about the tendency of his subordinate to complain of his means instead of using them. Rosecrans begged for revolving rifles, adding almost piteously: 'Don't be weary at my importunity. No economy can compare with that of furnishing revolving arms; no mode of recruiting will so promptly and efficaciously strengthen us.' But the Prussian war not yet having been fought the practical general-in-chief considered such applications the extravagant whims of a dreaming theorist.

"The despatches for 'cavalry,' 'cavalry,' 'cavalry,' continued. On 20th March, General Rosecrans said: 'Duty compels me to recall the attention of the War Department to the necessity of more cavalry here. Let it be clearly understood that the enemy have five to our one, and can, therefore, command the resources of the country and the services of the inhabitants.' On 29th March again: 'General Rousseau would undertake to raise eight or ten thousand mounted infantry. I think the time very propitious.' On 24th April, still the same. 'Cavalry horses are indispensable to our success here. This has been stated and reiterated to the department; but horses have not been obtained.' Again, on 10th May, in reply to a letter of General Halleck, proving to him that he had cavalry enough: 'We have at no time been able to turn out more than five thousand for actual duty. I am not mistaken in saying that this great army would gain more from ten thousand effective cavalry than from twenty thousand infantry.' On 26th July: 'I have

sent General Rousseau to Washington, directed to lay before you his plan for obtaining from the disciplined troops recently mustered out in the East, such a mounted force as would enable us to command the country south of us.' This last application ended the list. General Rousseau returned, telling Rosecrans that he 'was satisfied his official destruction was but a question of time and opportunity; the will to accomplish existed, and there was no use to hope for any assistance from the War Department. The Secretary of War had 'even gone so far as to say that he would be damned if he would give Rosecrans another man.'

"For meantime, the high spirit and utter lack of caution in personal matters which so distinguished General Rosecrans, had led to two other breaches with the department. Either of them would have served to make his position as a successful general, vigorously prosecuting a triumphant campaign, sufficiently unpleasant. As a delaying general, furnishing excuses for not undertaking the campaign on which the Government, with all its power, was urging him, they were enough to work his ruin. Yet who can check a thrill of honest pride as he reads that an Ohio general, in such a plight, had sturdy manhood enough left to send a despatch like this to the all powerful general-in-chief.

"MURFREESBORO, 6th March, 1863.

"General:—Yours of the 1st instant, announcing the offer of a vacant major-generalship in the regular army to the general in the field who first wins an important and decisive victory, is at hand. As an officer and a

citizen I feel degraded at such an auctioneering of honors. Have we a general who would fight for his own personal benefit when he would not for honor and his country? He would come by his commission basely in that case, and deserve to be despised by men of honor. But are all the brave and honorable generals on an equality as to chances? If not, it is unjust to those who probably deserve most.

“W. S. ROSECRANS, Major-General.

“To Major-General H. W. HALLECK,
General-in-Chief.”

“Under the merited sting of this incautious but unanswerable rebuke, General Halleck renewed his complaints, found fault with Rosecrans’ reports, and his failures to report, and even criticised the expenses of his telegraphing. At last, Rosecrans, chafing under one of these despatches, with absolutely characteristic lack of prudence, was stung into saying: ‘That I am very careful to inform the department of my successes, and of all captures from the enemy, is not true, as the records of our office will show; that I have failed to inform the Government of my defeats and losses is equally untrue, both in letter and in spirit. I regard the statement of these two propositions of the War Department as a profound, grievous, cruel, and ungenerous official and personal wrong.’ Was it wonderful now—human nature being, after all, only human nature—that Rosecrans’ official destruction was but a question of time and opportunity?” *

* This summary of General Rosecrans’ relations with the War Department is introduced here that the reader may have a clearer understanding of the delicate and often difficult duties of General Garfield’s position.

General Garfield regarded the organization of the army of General Rosecrans as radically defective, and so expressed himself to his chief. He was satisfied that it was a vital error to retain in command of the wings two generals who had shown themselves incapable, and one of his first official acts was to recommend the immediate displacement of Generals T. L. Crittenden and A. M. McCook. He urged General Rosecrans to appoint in their places Generals John McDowell and Don Carlos Buell. He had the good sense to feel confidence in the genuine ability of those officers in spite of their misfortunes, and was not influenced by the popular prejudice against those officers. He argued that McDowell and Buell were not only officers admirably suited to the commands he proposed for them, but that their gratitude to General Rosecrans, in case of their appointment, for the opportunity to emerge from the cloud which obscured them, would stimulate them to a zealous and able execution of his plans. By making these appointments and retaining General George H. Thomas in his present command, the Army of the Cumberland would be the best officered force in the service of the Republic. Rosecrans admitted all this, and said he was convinced that Crittenden and McCook ought to be replaced by better men, but with characteristic kindness of heart said, "he hated to injure two such good fellows," and declined to remove them.

The delay at Murfreesboro irritated the War Department, as has been said, and as the spring wore on, the Government demanded an advance with extraordinary vehemence. "General Rosecrans delayed, waiting for

cavalry, for re-enforcements, for Grant's movements before Vicksburg, for the movements of the enemy, for the opinions of his generals." General Garfield was at first in sympathy with his chief in these delays. He fully realized the importance of delaying a movement until the army should be massed and strengthened; but as time passed on, he too began to be impatient, and urged the commanding general to an immediate movement. "He had established a secret service system, then, perhaps, the most perfect in any of the Union armies. From the intelligence it furnished, he felt sure that Bragg's force had been considerably reduced, and was now greatly inferior to that of Rosecrans. As he subsequently said, he refused to believe that this army which had defeated a superior force at Stone River, could not now move upon an inferior one with reasonable prospects of success. Garfield continued to urge his views upon his commander, and, finally, General Rosecrans made a formal request to his corps, division, and cavalry commanders to submit in writing their views as to the propriety of an early advance. This request was addressed to seventeen generals, and with singular unanimity each and all advised against a forward movement. They gave diverse reasons, but reached the same conclusion. Not one favored an immediate advance, and none were willing to advise even an early advance.

"General Garfield collected the seventeen letters sent in from the generals in reply to the questions of their commander, and fairly reported their substance, coupled with a cogent argument against them, and in favor of an immediate movement. This report w

venture to pronounce the ablest military document known to have been submitted by a chief of staff to his superior during the war. General Garfield stood absolutely alone, every general commanding troops having as we have seen, either openly opposed or failed to approve an advance. But his statements were so clear and his arguments so forcible that he carried conviction.

We give the full text of this report, which will be found of great interest to the reader. It is as follows :—

“HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND,
Murfreesboro, June 12, 1863.

“General:—In your confidential letter of the 8th instant to the corps and division commanders and generals of cavalry of this army, there were substantially five questions propounded for their consideration and answer, viz. :—

“1. Has the enemy in our front been materially weakened by detachments to Johnston, or elsewhere?

“2. Can this army advance on him at this time with strong reasonable chances of fighting a great and successful battle?

“3. Do you think an advance of our army at present likely to prevent additional re-enforcements being sent against General Grant by the enemy in our front?

“4. Do you think an *immediate* advance of this army advisable?

“5. Do you think an *early* advance advisable?

“Many of the answers to these questions are not categorical, and cannot be clearly set down either as affirmative or negative. Especially in answer to the first

question there is much indefiniteness, resulting from the difference of judgment as to how great a detachment could be considered a 'material reduction' of Bragg's strength. For example: one officer thinks it has been reduced ten thousand, but not 'materially weakened.'

"The answers to the second question are modified in some instances by the opinion that the rebels will fall back behind the Tennessee River, and thus no battle can be fought either successful or unsuccessful.

"So far as these opinions can be stated in tabular form, they will stand thus:

	<i>Yes.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Answer to first question.....	6	11
Answer to second question.....	2	11
Answer to third question.....	4	10
Answer to fourth question .....	.....	15
Answer to fifth question .....	.....	2

"On the fifth question three gave it as their opinion that this army ought to advance as soon as Vicksburg falls, should that event happen.

"The following is a summary of the reasons assigned why we should not, at this time, advance upon the enemy:

"1. With Hooker's army defeated, and Grant's bending all its energies in a yet undecided struggle, it is bad policy to risk our only reserve army to the chances of a general engagement. A failure here would have most disastrous effects on our lines of communication, and on politics in the loyal States.

"2. We should be compelled to fight the enemy on his own ground, or follow him in a fruitless stern chase; or if we attempted to outflank him and turn his position,

we should expose our line of communication and run the risk of being pushed back into a rough country well-known to the enemy and little to ourselves.

“3. In case the enemy should fall back without accepting battle he could make our advance very slow, and with a comparatively small force posted in the gaps of the mountains could hold us back while he crossed the Tennessee River, where he would be measurely secure and free to send re-enforcements to Johnston. His forces in East Tennessee could seriously harass our left flank, and constantly disturb our communications.

“4. The withdrawal of Burnside's Ninth Army Corps deprive us of an important reserve and flank protection, thus increasing the difficulty of an advance.

“5. General Hurlbut has sent the most of his forces away to General Grant, thus leaving West Tennessee uncovered, and laying our right flank and rear open to raids of the enemy.

“The following incidental opinions are expressed :

“1. One officer thinks it probable that the enemy has been strengthened rather than weakened, and that *he* (the enemy) would have a reasonable prospect of victory in a general battle.

“2. One officer believes the result of a general battle would be doubtful, a victory barren, and a defeat most disastrous.

“3. Three officers believe that an advance would bring on a general engagement. Three others believe it would not.

“4. Two officers express the opinion that the chances of success in a general battle are nearly equal.

"5. One officer expresses the belief that our army has reached its maximum strength and efficiency, and that inactivity will seriously impair its effectiveness.

"6. Two officers say that an increase of our cavalry by about six thousand men would materially change the aspect of our affairs and give us a decided advantage.

"In addition to the above summary, I have the honor to submit an estimate of the strength of Bragg's army, gathered from all the data I have been able to obtain, including the estimate of the general commanding in his official report of the battle of Stone River, and facts gathered from prisoners, deserters, and refugees, and from rebel newspapers. After the battle Bragg consolidated many of his decimated regiments and irregular organizations, and at the time of his sending re-enforcements to Johnston his army had reached its greatest effective strength. It consisted of five divisions of infantry, composed of ninety-four regiments and two independent battalions of sharp-shooters; say ninety-five regiments. By a law of the Confederate Congress, regiments are consolidated when their effective strength falls below two hundred and fifty men. Even the regiments formed by such consolidation (which may reasonably be regarded as the fullest) must fall below five hundred. I am satisfied that four hundred is a large estimate of the average strength.

"The force then would be—

Infantry,	95 Regiments,	400 each	.....	38,000
Cavalry,	35 " say	500 "	.....	17,500
Artillery,	26 Batteries, say	100 "	.....	2,600
Total.....				58,100

"This force has been reduced by detachments to Johnston. It is as well known as we can ever expect to ascertain such facts, that three brigades have gone from McCown's division, and two or three from Breckinridge's say two. It is clear that there are now but four infantry divisions in Bragg's army, the fourth being composed of fragments of McCown's and Breckinridge's divisions, and must be much smaller than the average. Deducting the five brigades, and supposing them composed of only four regiments each, which is below the general average, it gives an infantry reduction of twenty regiments, four hundred each: eight thousand, leaving a remainder of thirty thousand.

"It is clearly ascertained that at least two brigades of cavalry have been sent from Van Dorn's command to Mississippi, and it is asserted in the *Chattanooga Rebel* of June 11th, that General Morgan's command has been permanently detached and sent to Eastern Kentucky. It is not certainly known how large his division is, but it is known to contain at least two brigades. Taking this minimum as the fact, we have a cavalry reduction of four brigades.

"Taking the lowest estimate, four regiments to the brigade, we have a reduction by detachment of sixteen regiments, five hundred each, leaving his present effective cavalry force nine thousand five hundred.

"With the nine brigades of the two arms thus detached it will be safe to say there have gone—

6 Batteries, 80 men each.	480
Leaving him 20 Batteries..	2,120
Making a total reduction of.....	16,480
Leaving of the three arms.....	41,680

“In this estimate of Bragg’s present strength I have placed all doubts in his favor, and I have no question that my estimate is considerably beyond the truth. General Sheridan, who has taken great pains to collect evidence on this point, places it considerably below these figures. But assuming these to be correct, and granting what is still more improbable, that Bragg would abandon all his rear posts, and entirely neglect his communications and could bring his last man into battle, I next ask, What have we with which to oppose him?

“The last official report of effective strength, now on file in the office of the assistant adjutant-general, is dated June 11, and shows that we have in this department, omitting all officers and enlisted men attached to department, corps, division, and brigade headquarters:—

“1. Infantry—One hundred and seventy-three regiments; ten battalions sharpshooters; four battalions pioneers, and one regiment engineers and mechanics, with a total effective strength of seventy thousand nine hundred and eighteen.

“2. Cavalry—Twenty-seven regiments and one unattached company, eleven thousand eight hundred and thirteen.

“3. Artillery—Forty-seven and a half batteries field artillery, consisting of two hundred and ninety-two guns and five hundred and sixty-nine men, making a general total of eighty-seven thousand eight hundred.

“Leaving out all commissioned officers, this army represents eighty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven bayonets and sabres.

“This report does not include the Fifth Iowa Cav-

alry, six hundred strong, lately armed; nor the First Wisconsin Cavalry; nor Coburn's brigade of infantry, now arriving; nor the two thousand three hundred and ninety-four convalescents now on light duty in 'Fortress Rosecrans.'

"There are detached from this force as follows:

At Gallatin.....	969
At Carthage	1,149
At Fort Donelson.....	1,485
At Clarksville.....	1,138
At Nashville.	7,292
At Franklin.....	900
At Lavergne.....	2,117
Total	15,050

"With these posts as they are, and leaving two thousand five hundred efficient men in addition to the two thousand three hundred and ninety-four convalescents to hold the works at this place, there will be left sixty-five thousand one hundred and thirty-seven bayonets and sabres to throw against Bragg's forty-one thousand six hundred and eighty.

"I beg leave, also, to submit the following considerations:—

"1. Bragg's army is now weaker than it has been since the battle of Stone River, or is likely to be again for the present, while our army has reached its maximum strength, and we have no right to expect re-enforcements for several months, if at all.

"2. Whatever be the result at Vicksburg, the determination of its fate will give large re-enforcements to Bragg. If Grant is successful, his army will require many weeks to recover from the shock and strain of his

late campaign, while Johnston will send back to Bragg a force sufficient to insure the safety of Tennessee. If Grant fails, the same result will inevitably follow, so far as Bragg's army is concerned.

"3. No man can predict with certainty the result of any battle, however great the disparity in numbers. Such results are in the hand of God. But, viewing the question in the light of human calculation, I refuse to entertain a doubt that this army, which in January last defeated Bragg's superior numbers, can not overwhelm his present greatly inferior forces.

"4. The most unfavorable course for us that Bragg could take would be to fall back without giving us battle, but this would be very disastrous to him. Besides the loss of *materiel* of war, and the abandonment of the rich and abundant harvest now nearly ripe in Central Tennessee, he would lose heavily by desertion. It is well known that a widespread dissatisfaction exists among his Kentucky and Tennessee troops. They are already deserting in large numbers. A retreat would greatly increase both the desire and the opportunity for desertion, and would very materially reduce his physical and moral strength. While it would lengthen our communications, it would give us possession of McMinnville, and enable us to threaten Chattanooga and East Tennessee; and it would not be unreasonable to expect an early occupation of the former place.

"5. But the chances are more than ever that a sudden and rapid movement would compel a general engagement, and the defeat of Bragg would be in the highest degree disastrous to the rebellion.

“6. The turbulent aspect of politics in the loyal States renders a decisive blow against the enemy at this time of the highest importance to the success of the Government at the polls, and in the enforcement of the Conscription Act.

“7. The Government and the War Department believe that this army ought to move upon the enemy. The army desires it, and the country is anxiously hoping for it.

“8. Our true objective point is the rebel army, whose last reserves are substantially in the field, and an effective blow will crush the shell and soon be followed by the collapse of the rebel government.

“9. We have, in my judgment, wisely delayed a general movement hitherto, till your army could be massed, and your cavalry could be mounted. Your mobile force can now be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and your cavalry, if not equal in numerical strength to that of the enemy, is greatly superior in efficiency and morale.

“For these reasons I believe an immediate advance of all our forces is advisable, and under the providence of God, will be successful.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

[Signed.]

J. A. GARFIELD,

Brigadier-General, Chief of Staff.

“Major-General ROSECRANS,

Commanding Department, Cumberland.”

General Rosecrans acknowledged the force of the arguments of his chief of staff, and the 24th of June, 1863, twelve days after the above report was written, the army

moved forward from Murfreesboro toward the Confederate position at Tullahoma. The advance was severely condemned by the leading generals of the Union army. On the morning it was begun, General Thomas L. Crittenden, one of the corps commanders, went to headquarters and said to General Garfield: "It is understood, sir, by the general officers of the army, that this movement is your work. I wish you to understand that it is a rash and fatal move, for which you will be held responsible."

The Confederate army, under General Bragg, occupied a strongly intrenched position at Tullahoma, with advanced positions at Shelbyville and Wartrace. The line was a very strong one, and the task before General Rosecrans was not to attack it, but to manœuvre so as to compel the Confederates to relinquish it without a battle. The movements by which he accomplished this were so brilliant and successful that they drew praise from even General Halleck. Gordon Granger's division was thrown forward boldly towards Shelbyville, as if to attack that place; and while Bragg's attention was taken up with this movement, General Rosecrans with the rest of the army marched rapidly to the right and seized the mountain passes which commanded the Confederate line of retreat. Bragg now perceived the true nature of the Union movement, and hastily drew in his forces from Shelbyville. Rosecrans thereupon moved forward upon Tullahoma, and General Bragg, who was unwilling to fight for that position, abandoned it, and retreated across the Tennessee River to Chattanooga. "Thus closed," says General Rosecrans, "a nine days' campaign which drove the enemy from two fortified positions, and gave us pos-

session of Middle Tennessee, conducted in one of the most extraordinary rains ever known in Tennessee at that period of the year, over a soil that became almost a quicksand. These results were far more successful than was anticipated, and could only have been obtained by a surprise as to the direction and force of our movements." Sixteen hundred and thirty-four prisoners, six pieces of artillery, and large quantities of stores were taken from the Confederates. Rosecrans' loss was only five hundred and sixty.

"There now sprang up renewed differences between General Rosecrans and the War Department. In the general policy that controlled the movements of the army Garfield heartily sympathized; he had, in fact, aided to give shape to that policy. But he deplored his chief's testy manner of conducting his defence to the complaints of the War Department, and did his best to soften the asperities of the correspondence."

After Bragg retired to Chattanooga, Rosecrans moved to Stevenson, Alabama, halting there for over a month to repair the railroad and bring up his supplies. On the 16th of August his army moved against Chattanooga, and General Burnside, with a strong column, advanced from Kentucky into East Tennessee. Finding the enemy's position at Chattanooga too strong to be carried by a direct assault, Rosecrans endeavored to turn it and cut Bragg off from Northern Georgia, but on the 8th of September the Confederates evacuated Chattanooga and fell back towards Dalton.

Rosecrans, believing that Bragg was in full retreat for Georgia, started at once in pursuit, disposing his forces

in such a manner as to cut off his adversary. These movements he hoped would enable him to capture the whole rebel army, and it is likely they would have succeeded had the situation of that army been as desperate as he supposed it. But General Bragg, instead of flying southward, had merely evacuated Chattanooga, and fallen back a short distance to secure his junction with Longstreet's corps, which was on its way from Virginia to join him. As soon as Longstreet arrived within supporting distance, Bragg suddenly wheeled about and marched back to give Rosecrans battle.

This movement took the Union commander completely by surprise, and embarrassed him considerably. Having no idea that Bragg meant anything but absolute flight, he had divided his army with the hope of intercepting him, and now the various corps were situated in such a manner as to expose them to the danger of being beaten in detail by the enemy's whole force. "The corps of General McCook was separated from General Thomas by a march of nearly three days. General Crittenden could not re-enforce General Thomas without exposing Chattanooga, and General Thomas could not move to General Crittenden's position without exposing General McCook. It was a terrible situation for the army, and might have been fatal to it had General Bragg moved with more rapidity. McCook was at once ordered to join Thomas, which he did by a forced march, reaching him late on the 17th. Every moment of Bragg's delay was carefully economized, and when McCook came up, the army was moved to Gordon's Mills, on the west side of the Chickamauga.

“General Bragg now moved his army by divisions, and crossed the Chickamauga at several fords and bridges north of Gordon’s Mills, up to which he ordered the Virginian troops which had crossed many miles below, and near to which he attempted to concentrate. At this time the right of General Rosecrans really rested on Gordon’s Mills. General Thomas had moved on until his left division under General Brannan, covered the Rossville road. General Baird was on General Brannan’s right, then followed successively Generals Johnson’s, Reynolds’, Palmer’s and Van Cleve’s divisions. General Wood covered Gordon’s Mills ford. General Negley, four miles farther south, held Owen’s Gap. Generals Davis and Sheridan were on the march south of General Negley. General Wilder, with four regiments and a light battery, was posted at the right, near Gordon’s Mills. General Gordon Granger’s forces were held in reserve some distance back on the Rossville road. Such was the position on Saturday, the 19th. The battle which now ensued, opened about ten o’clock. The first attack of the enemy was upon the left wing of Gen. Rosecrans, which the enemy endeavored to turn, so as to occupy the road to Chattanooga. But all their efforts for this object failed. The centre was next assailed, and temporarily driven back, but being promptly re-enforced, maintained its ground. As night approached the battle ceased, and the combatants rested on their arms. Gen. Bragg now issued an order dividing the forces of his army into two corps or wings. The right was placed under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Polk, and the left under Lieut.-Gen. Longstreet.

“Toward morning of the next day, the army of General Rosecrans changed its position slightly to the rear, and contracted the extended lines of the previous day. Trains were moving northward on all the roads in the rear of Chattanooga, and the wounded were taken from the hospitals, which had become exposed by the concentration of the forces to the left. General Thomas still held the left with the divisions of Generals Palmer and Johnson attached to his corps and thrown in the centre. General Brannan was retired slightly, with his regiments arrayed in echelon. General Van Cleve was held in reserve on the west side of the first road in the rear of the line. Generals Wood, Davis, and Sheridan followed next, the last being on the extreme left. General Lytle occupied an isolated position at Gordon's Mills.

“Orders were given by General Bragg to Lieutenant-General Polk to commence the attack at daylight on the next morning. These orders were immediately opened by him; but prior to giving the order to move forward to the attack in the morning, General Polk discovered that, owing to a want of precaution, a portion of the left wing, amounting to a whole division, had been formed in front of his line, and that if the order to make the attack at daylight was obeyed, this division must inevitably be slaughtered. The battle was finally opened about half past nine A. M., by a forward movement of General Breckinridge, accompanied by General Cleburne, against the left and centre of General Rosecrans. Division after division was pushed forward to assist the attacking masses of the enemy, but with-

out success. The ground was held by General Thomas for more than two hours. Meantime, as General Reynolds was sorely pressed, General Wood was ordered, as he supposed, to march instantly by the left flank pass General Brannan, and go to the relief of General Reynolds, and that Generals Davis and Sheridan were to shift over to the left, and close up the line. General Rosecrans reports that the order was to close upon General Reynolds. General Wood says that General Brannan was in line between his and General Reynolds' division.

“A gap was thus formed in the line of battle, of which the enemy took advantage, and striking General Davis in his flank and rear, threw his whole division into confusion. Passing through this break in General Rosecrans's line, the enemy cut off his right and centre, and attacked General Sheridan's division, which was advancing to the support of the left. After a brave but fruitless effort against this torrent of the enemy, he was compelled to give way, but afterward rallied a considerable portion of his force, and by a circuitous route joined General Thomas, who had now to breast the tide of battle against the whole army of the enemy. The right and part of the centre had been completely broken, and fled in confusion from the field, carrying with them to Chattanooga their commanders, Generals McCook and Crittenden, and also General Rosecrans, who was on that part of the line. General Garfield, his chief of staff, however, made his way to the left, and joined General Thomas, who still retained his position. His ranks had now assumed a crescent form, with his flanks supported

by the lower spurs of the mountain, and here. 'like a lion at bay, he repulsed the terrible assaults of the enemy.'

"About half-past three P. M. the enemy discovered a gap in the hills, in the rear of the right flank of General Thomas, and General Longstreet commenced pressing his columns through the passage. At this time. Major-General Granger, who had been posted with his reserves to cover the left and rear, arrived on the field. He immediately attacked the forces of General Longstreet with General Steedman's brigade of cavalry. The conflict at this point is thus described by General Halleck: 'In the words of General Rosecrans' report, "swift was the charge, and terrible the conflict; but the enemy was broken." A thousand of our brave men killed and wounded paid for its possession; but we held the gap. Two divisions of Longstreet's corps confronted the position. Determined to take it, they successively came to the assault. A battery of six guns placed in the gorge poured death and slaughter into them. They charged within a few yards of the pieces, but our grape and canister, and the leaden hail of musketry, delivered in sparing but terrible volleys, from cartridges taken in many instances from the boxes of their fallen companions, was too much even for Longstreet's men. About sunset they made their last charge, when our men, being out of ammunition, moved on them with the bayonet, and they gave way, to return no more. In the meantime the enemy made repeated attempts to carry General Thomas' position on the left and front, but were as often thrown back with great loss. Near nightfall

the enemy fell back beyond the range of our artillery, leaving General Thomas victorious on the hard fought field.'

"During the night, Gen. Thomas fell back to Rossville, leaving the dead, and many of the wounded in the hands of the enemy. Gen. Sheridan, who had been cut off by the advance of the enemy, as he was upon the extreme right, gathered his brigades, and struck across Missionary Ridge, directly to the west. The enemy were in possession of the country north of him. As he reached the top of the ridge, he caused the 'assembly' to be blown, and picked up all the stragglers from the other divisions that he could find. He had lost three pieces of artillery, but in his progress met a whole battery which had been abandoned, and took it in charge. Passing the enemy's flank, and regaining the road on the ridge, he turned east through Rossville, and, without halting, re-enforced Gen. Thomas at midnight. The position near Rossville was held during Monday without serious molestation from the enemy, and in the night the entire force was withdrawn to Chattanooga." *

In the battle of Chickamauga General Rosecrans lost 16,851 men (4,945 being captured), thirty-six pieces of cannon, and 8,450 small arms. The enemy's loss was 18,000 (2,003 prisoners being taken by us). The battle was a terrible blow to us. The right and centre were totally defeated, and only the glorious stand made by the left wing under General Thomas saved the army from destruction or capture.

After the battle, Bragg advanced to Missionary Ridge

* "Army Operations." Annual Encyclopædia, 1863.

and Lookout Mountain, investing the position of our army at Chattanooga, and cutting off its supplies.

The part borne by General Garfield in this terrible battle was important and honorable. "He wrote every order issued that day—one only excepted. This he did rarely as an amanuensis, but rather on the suggestions of his own judgment, afterwards submitting what he had prepared to Rosecrans for approval or change. The one order which he did not write was the fatal order to Wood which lost the battle. The meaning was correct; the words, however, did not clearly represent what Rosecrans meant, and the division commander in question so interpreted them as to destroy the right wing.

"The general commanding and his chief of staff were caught in the tide of the disaster and borne back toward Chattanooga." The chief of staff was sent to communicate with Thomas, while the general proceeded to prepare for the reception of the routed army.

"Such at least were the statements of the reports, and, in a technical sense, they were true. It should never be forgotten, however, in Garfield's praise, that it was on his own earnest representations that he was sent—that, in fact, he rather procured permission to go to Thomas, and so back into the battle, than received orders to do so. He refused to believe that Thomas was routed or the battle lost. He found the road environed with dangers; some of his escort were killed, and they all narrowly escaped death or capture. But he bore to Thomas the first news that officer had received of the disaster on the right, and gave the information on which he was able to extricate his command. At seven o'clock

that evening, under the personal supervision of General Gordon Granger and himself, a shotted salute from a battery of six Napoleon guns was fired into the woods after the last of the retreating assailants. They were the last shots of the battle of Chickamauga, and what was left of the Union army was master of the field. For the time the enemy evidently regarded himself as repulsed; and Garfield said that night, and has always since maintained, that there was no necessity for the immediate retreat on Rossville."

The Union army fell back to Chattanooga. General Garfield gave his best energies to the task of getting it into condition for further service. He ably seconded General Rosecrans in his efforts to hold his position against the Confederates who had advanced to Chattanooga and had laid siege to the place. After a few weeks of this service, he was sent to Washington by General Rosecrans as the bearer of despatches. On the 18th of October General Rosecrans was removed from the command of the army of the Cumberland. Upon reaching Washington, General Garfield learned that he had been promoted by the President to the rank of major-general of volunteers, "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chickamauga."

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL GARFIELD ENTERS CONGRESS.

General Garfield Elected to Congress from the Western Reserve District—Desires to Remain in the Army—His Reasons for Resigning his Commission and Entering Congress—Character of his District—Reasons for his Election—Decides to Leave the Army—Enters Congress—Takes a Commanding Position in the House—Appointed to the Military Committee—Estimate of him as one of the Leaders of the Republican Party—His Habits of Industry—His Mode of Rest—Mr. Long, of Ohio, proposes to Recognize the Southern Confederacy—A Brilliant Invective—An Impressive Scene in the House—Delight of the Republicans over Garfield's Reply—It Ensures his Success in the House—Mr. Garfield in Demand as a Speaker—The Inconvenience of being Too Ready an Orator—General Garfield's Account of Congress—Its History—Its Great Services—Its Intimate Connection with the People—How it has become the National Mouthpiece and Defender—Congress and the Constitution—Congress and the President—Congress and the People—A Statesman's Views.

THE battle of Chickamauga practically closed General Garfield's military career. A new field of service was now opened to him. In 1862, while he was still in the army, the people of his district elected him to Congress. This was a high compliment, for the district had been represented by men of great prominence in the Republican party, and the people had come to expect a high degree of ability from their representative. General Garfield was strongly tempted to remain in the army. He had risen steadily to the grade of Major-General, and

had won a reputation that was both honorable and enviable. He was highly esteemed by the Government, and was regarded by the War Department as one of the most trusted and competent officers in the service. It was very certain that he would be assigned to important commands in the future, and would reap additional honors and reputation. His future, indeed, promised to be a brilliant one. He was also a poor man, and his Major-General's pay was more than double the salary of a congressman. There were, therefore, many inducements to him to remain in the service. He thought the matter over earnestly, and came to the conclusion that it was his duty to resign his commission and accept the seat in the House of Representatives to which he had been elected. He was one of those who thought that a few months more would end the war, and believed that he could be spared from the field. He felt that, as his constituents had called him from the army and sent him to Congress, it was his duty to obey their wishes and take his seat. Moreover, his army friends advised him urgently to enter Congress, as they believed that, coming fresh from the army and understanding its wants, he could render good service by promoting legislation calculated to maintain and improve the efficiency of the service. Influenced by these views, General Garfield determined to sacrifice his own wishes, and on the 5th of December, 1863, he resigned his commission, after nearly three years of service. He did this very reluctantly.

The Congressional district in which General Garfield lived, was the Western Reserve of Ohio, and had long

been represented by Joshua R. Giddings, the veteran leader of the Free-soil party. Mr. Giddings was so regularly returned to Congress by his constituents that he finally came to regard his nomination and election as fixed beyond all doubt, and grew careless of his interests. This over-confidence led to his overthrow. In 1858 a Mr. Hutchins, an ambitious lawyer of the district, took advantage of Mr. Giddings' indifference, to carry the convention against him, and thus secured the nomination for himself. His election followed, as a matter of course. The friends of Mr. Giddings never forgave him for his course, and determined to put him out of Congress at the earliest practicable moment. Mr. Giddings, in the meantime, was appointed Consul to Montreal, and was so well satisfied with his position that he did not care to make the fight necessary to get back to Congress. His supporters, therefore, resolved to nominate General Garfield in his place, believing that his great popularity would make his election an easy matter. The convention, therefore nominated General Garfield, without asking his consent, and he was triumphantly elected by the people, as has been stated, in 1862.

“When he heard of the nomination, Garfield reflected that it would be fifteen months before the Congress to which he had been elected would meet, and believing, as did everyone else, that the war could not possibly last a year longer, concluded to accept. ‘I have often heard him,’ says a friend, ‘express regret that he did not help to fight the war through, and say that he would never have left the army to go to Congress had he foreseen that the struggle would last beyond the year 1863.’”

Mr. Garfield took his seat in the House of Representatives in December, 1863. He was appointed a member of the committee on military affairs, of which General Schenck, who was also fresh from the army, was chairman. He did good service on this committee in helping to carry through the measures which re-armed the army and maintained its efficiency during the last years of the war. He knew the needs of the army thoroughly, and was always its faithful and judicious friend, so that he was enabled to render to his country quite as good service in the halls of Congress as he could have performed in the field. He was also appointed chairman of a select committee of seven charged with investigating alleged frauds in the money-printing bureau of the Treasury Department. He at once took and maintained a commanding position in the House. He was known as a powerful speaker, remarkably ready and able in debate. A recent writer, referring to his position as one of the leaders of his party in the House, says :

“As a leader in the House he is more cautious and less dashing than Blaine, and his judicial turn of mind makes him too prone to look for two sides of a question to be an efficient partisan. When the issue fairly touches his convictions, however, he becomes thoroughly aroused, and strikes tremendous blows. Blaine’s tactics were to continually harass the enemy by sharp-shooting surprises and picket-firing. Garfield waits for an opportunity to deliver a pitched battle, and his generalship is shown to the best advantage when the fight is a fair one and waged on grounds where each party thinks itself the strongest. Then his solid shot of argument are ex-

ceedingly effective. On the stump Garfield is one of the very best orators in the Republican party. He has a good voice, an air of evident sincerity, great clearness and vigor of statement, and a way of knitting his arguments together so as to make a speech deepen its impression on the mind of the hearer until the climax is reached.

“Of his industry and studious habits a great deal might be said, but a single illustration will have to suffice here. Once during the busiest part of a very busy session at Washington I found him in his library, behind a big barricade of books. This was no unusual sight, but when I glanced at the volumes I saw that they were all different editions of Horace, or books relating to that poet. ‘I find I am overworked and need recreation,’ said the General. ‘Now, my theory is that the best way to rest the mind is not to let it be idle, but to put it at something quite outside of the ordinary line of its employment. So I am resting by learning all the Congressional library can show about Horace, and the various editions and translations of his poems.’”

One of General Garfield’s most remarkable speeches in the House, and one that secured his position as a leader in his party, was delivered within a few months after his entrance into Congress. On the 8th of April, 1864, Mr. Alexander Long, a representative from Ohio, delivered an exceedingly ultra Peace-Democratic speech, proposing the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. The speech attracted to an unusual degree the attention of the House, and was listened to with indignation, the orator being allowed to state his whole case fully and fairly. It was

evident from General Garfield's manner that he meant to reply, and by common consent he was allowed to speak not only for himself, but for the great party to which he belonged. As soon as Mr. Long took his seat, General Garfield rose. In a few thrilling sentences he riveted the attention of the House, and held it throughout the whole of his brilliant invective. He had scarcely commenced to speak when the members from the remoter parts of the hall began to crowd around him and listen to him with breathless attention. The speech was as follows :

“Mr. Chairman.—I should be obliged to you if you would direct the sergeant-at-arms to bring a white flag and plant it in the aisle between myself and my colleague who has just addressed you.

“I recollect on one occasion when two great armies stood face to face, under a white flag just planted, I approached a company of men dressed in the uniform of the rebel Confederacy, and reached out my hand to one of the number, and told him I respected him as a brave man. Though he wore the emblems of his disloyalty and treason, still underneath his vestments I beheld a brave and honest soul.

“I would reproduce that scene here this afternoon. I say were there such a flag of truce—but God forgive me if I should do it under any other circumstances!—I would reach out this right hand and ask that gentleman to take it, because I honor his bravery and honesty. I believe what has just fallen from his lips is the honest sentiment of his heart, and in uttering it he has made a new epoch in the history of this war; he has done a new thing under the sun; he has done a brave thing. It is braver

than to face cannon and musketry, and I honor him for his candor and frankness.

“But now I ask you to take away the flag of truce, and I will go back inside the Union lines and speak of what he has done. I am reminded of it by a distinguished character in ‘Paradise Lost.’ When he had rebelled against the glory of God, and ‘led away a third part of heaven’s sons conjured against the Highest;’ when after terrible battles in which mountains and hills were hurled by each contending host ‘with jaculations dire;’ when, at last, the leader and his hosts were hurled ‘nine times the space that measures day and night,’ and after the terrible fall lay stretched prone on the burning lake, Satan lifted up his shattered hulk, crossed the abyss, looked down into paradise, and soliloquizing, said :

“‘Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell!’ It seems to me he expressed the very sentiment to which you have just listened; uttered by one no less brave, malign, and fallen. This man gathers up the meaning of this great contest, the philosophy of the moment, the prophecies of the hour, and in sight of the paradise of victory and peace, utters them all in this wail of terrible despair, ‘Which way I fly is hell.’ He ought to add, ‘Myself am hell!’”

“Mr. Chairman, I am reminded by the occurrences of this afternoon of two characters in the war of the Revolution, as compared with two others in the war of to-day.

“The first was Lord Fairfax, who dwelt near the Potomac, a few miles from us. When the great contest was opened between the mother country and the colonies, Lord Fairfax, after a protracted struggle with his own heart, decided that he must go with the mother country.

He gathered his mantle about him and went over grandly and solemnly.

“There was another man who cast in his lot with the struggling colonists, and continued with them till the war was wellnigh ended. In an hour of darkness that just preceded the glory of the morning, he hatched the treason to surrender forever all that had been gained to the enemies of his country. Benedict Arnold was the man!

“Fairfax and Arnold find their parallel in the struggle of to-day.

“When this war began many good men stood hesitating and doubting what they ought to do. Robert E. Lee sat in his house across the river here, doubting and delaying, and going off at last almost tearfully to join the army of his State. He reminds one in some respects of Lord Fairfax, the stately royalist of the Revolution.

“But now, when tens of thousands of brave souls have gone up to God under the shadow of the flag; when thousands more, maimed and shattered in the contest, are sadly awaiting the deliverance of death; now, when three years of terrific warfare have raged over us; when our armies have pushed the Rebellion back over mountains and rivers, and crowded it into narrow limits, until a wall of fire girds it; now, when the uplifted hand of a majestic people is about to hurl the bolts of its conquering power upon the Rebellion; now, in the quiet of this hall, hatched in the lowest depths of a similar dark treason, there rises a Benedict Arnold and proposes to surrender all up, body and spirit, the Nation and the Flag, its genius and its honor, now and forever, to the accursed traitors to our country! And that proposition comes—

God forgive and pity my beloved State!—it comes from a citizen of the time honored and loyal Commonwealth of Ohio!

“I implore you, brethren, in this House, to believe that not many births ever gave pangs to my mother State such as she suffered when that traitor was born! I beg you not to believe that on the soil of that State another such growth has ever deformed the face of nature and darkened the light of God's day. [An audible whisper, ‘Vållandigham.’] But, ah! I am reminded that there are other such. My zeal and love for Ohio have carried me too far. I retract. I remember that only a few days since a political convention met at the capital of my State, and almost decided to select from just such material a representative for the Democratic party in the coming contest; and to-day what claim to be a majority of the Democracy of that State say they have been cheated, or they would have made that choice. I, therefore, sadly take back the boast I first uttered in behalf of my native State.

“But, sir, I will forget States. We have something greater than States and State pride to talk of here to-day. All personal or State feeling aside, I ask you what is the proposition which the enemy of his country has just made. What is it?

“For the first time in the history of this contest it is proposed in this hall, to give up the struggle, to abandon the war, and let treason run riot through the land! I will, if I can, dismiss feeling from my heart, and try to consider only what bears upon the logic of the speech to which we have just listened.

“First of all, the gentleman tells us that the right of secession is a constitutional right. I do not propose to enter into the argument. I have expressed myself hitherto upon State rights and State sovereignty, of which this proposition of his is the legitimate child.

“But the gentleman takes higher ground, and in that I agree with him—namely, that five million or eight million people possess the right of revolution. Grant it; we agree there. If fifty-nine men can make revolution successful, they have the right of revolution. If one State wishes to break its connection with the Federal Government, and does it by force, maintaining itself, it is an independent State. If the eleven Southern States are determined and resolved to leave the Union, to secede, to revolutionize, and can maintain that revolution by force, they have the revolutionary right to do so. Grant it. I stand on that platform with the gentleman.

“And now the question comes, is it our constitutional duty to let them do it? That is the question, and in order to reach it, I beg to call your attention, not to an argument, but to the condition of affairs which would result from such action—the mere statement of which becomes the strongest possible argument. What does the gentleman propose? Where will he draw the line of division? If the rebels carry into successful secession what they desire to carry; if their revolution envelops as many States as they intend it shall envelop; if they draw the line where Isham G. Harris, the rebel Governor of Tennessee, in the rebel camp near our lines, told Mr. Vallandigham they would draw it, along the line of the Ohio and of the Potomac; if they make good their state-

ment to him that they will never consent to any other line, then, I ask, what is this thing the gentleman proposes to do? He proposes to leave the United States a territory reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and one hundred miles wide in the centre. From Wellsville, on the Ohio River, to Cleveland on the lakes is one hundred miles. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, if there be a man here so insane as to suppose that the American people will allow their magnificent proportions to be shorn to so deformed a shape as this?

“I tell you, and I confess it here, that while I hope I have something of human courage, I have not enough to contemplate such a result. I am not brave enough to go to the brink of the precipice of a successful secession, and look down into its damnable abyss. If my vision were keen enough to pierce its bottom, I would not dare to look. If there be a man here who dare contemplate such a scene, I look upon him either as the bravest of the sons of women, or as a downright madman. Secession to gain peace! Secession is the tocsin of eternal war! There can be no end to such a war as will be inaugurated if this thing be done.

“Suppose the policy of the gentleman were adopted to-day. Let the order go forth! Sound the ‘recall’ on your bugles, and let it ring forth from Texas to the far Atlantic, and tell the armies to come back. Call the victorious legions back over the battle-fields of blood, forever now disgraced. Call them back over the territory which they have conquered. Call them back, and let the minions of secession chase them with derision and jeers as they come. And then tell them that that man

across the aisle, from the free State of Ohio, gave birth to the monstrous proposition.

“Mr. Chairman, if such a word should be sent forth through the armies of the Union, the wave of terrible vengeance that would sweep back over this land could never find a parallel in the records of history. Almost in the moment of final victory the ‘recall’ is sounded by a craven people not deserving freedom! We ought, every man, to be made a slave, should we sanction such a sentiment.

“The gentleman has told us there is no such thing as coercion justifiable under the constitution. I ask him for one moment to reflect that no statute was ever enforced without coercion. It is the basis of every law in the universe—God’s law as well as man’s. A law is no law without coercion behind it. When a man has murdered his brother, coercion takes the murderer, tries him, and hangs him. When you levy your taxes, coercion secures their collection. It follows the shadow of the thief, and brings him to justice; it accompanies your diplomacy to foreign courts, and backs the declaration of the nation’s rights by a pledge of the nation’s power. But when the life of that nation is imperilled, we are told that it has no coercive power against the paracides in its own bosom! Again, he tells us that oaths taken under the Amnesty Proclamation are good for nothing. The oath of Galileo, he says, was not binding upon him. I am reminded of another oath that was taken; but perhaps it too was an oath on the lips alone, to which the heart made no response.

“I remember to have stood in a line of nineteen men

from Ohio, on that carpet yonder, on the first day of the session, and I remember that, with uplifted hands, before Almighty God, those nineteen took an oath to support and maintain the Constitution of the United States. And I remember that another oath was passed around, and each member signed it as provided by law, utterly repudiating the Rebellion and its pretenses. Does the gentleman not blush to speak of Galileo's oath? Was not his own its counterpart?

"He says the Union can never be restored because of the terrible hatred engendered by the war. To prove it he quoted what some Southern man said a few years ago, that he knew no hatred between peoples in the world like that between the North and the South. And yet that North and South have been one nation for eighty-eight years.

"Have we seen in this contest anything more bitter than the wars of the Scottish Border? Have we seen anything bitterer than those terrible feuds in the days of Edward, when England and Scotland were the deadliest foes on earth? And yet for centuries these countries have been cemented in an indissoluble union that has made the British nation one of the proudest of the earth!

"I said, a little while ago, that I accepted the proposition of the gentleman that the rebels had the right of revolution; and the decisive issue between us and the Rebellion is, whether they shall revolutionize and destroy, or we shall subdue and preserve. We take the latter ground. We take the common weapons of war to meet them; and if these be not sufficient I would take any element which will overwhelm and destroy. I would!

sacrifice the dearest and best beloved; I would take all the old sanctions of law and the constitution and fling them to the winds, if necessary, rather than let the nation be broken in pieces, and its people destroyed with endless ruin.

“What is the constitution that these gentlemen perpetually fling in our faces whenever we desire to strike hard blows against the Rebellion? It is the production of the American people. They made it, and the creator is mightier than the creature. The power which made the constitution can also make other instruments to do its great work in the day of its dire necessity.”

This speech, which was delivered on the spur of the moment in reply to an elaborately prepared argument, at once placed General Garfield in the front rank of Republican leaders, and from this time he ranked as one of the readiest and most brilliant Republican speakers. “This standing he never lost. It was, however, to prove in some respects injurious to his rising fame. He spoke so readily that members were constantly asking his services in behalf of favored measures; and in the impulsive eagerness of a young man and a young member, he often consented. He thus came to be too frequent a speaker; and by and by the House wearied a little of his polished periods and began to think him too fond of talking. After a time this little reaction in the general feeling of the House toward him wore off.” “His superior knowledge,” says another writer, “used to offend some of his less learned colleagues at first. They thought him bookish and pedantic until they found how solid and useful was his store of knowledge,

and how pertinent to the business in hand were the drafts he made upon it. His genial personal ways soon made him many warm friends in Congress. The men of brains in both houses and in the departments were not long in discovering that here was a fresh, strong intellectual force that was destined to make its mark upon the politics of the country. They sought his acquaintance, and before he had been long in Washington he had the advantage of the best society of the capital."

In view of his long service in the popular House of Congress, and his certain elevation to the executive chair, General Garfield's views respecting the proper position of Congress in our system of government, its rights and duties, and its relations to the other branches of the Government, are of the greatest importance to his countrymen, and will be read by them with the deepest interest. He thus stated them in an article contributed by him to the "Atlantic Monthly" for July, 1877:

"We have seen the close of our memorial year, during which societies, the States, and the nation have been reviewing the completed century and forecasting the character of that which has just begun.

"Our people have been tracing the footprints of the fathers along the many paths which united to form the great highway whereon forty millions of Americans are now marching. If we would profit by the great lessons of the centennial year, we must study thoughtfully and reverently the elements and forces that have made the Republic what it is, and which will in a great measure shape and direct its future.

"No study of these themes can lead to a just view of

our institutions which does not include within its range a survey of the history and functions of

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS.

“Indeed, the history of liberty and union in this country, as developed by their successors, is inseparably connected with the history of the national legislature. Nor can they be separated in the future. The Union and Congress must share the same fate. They must rise or fall together.

“The germ of our political institutions, the primary cell from which they were evolved, was the New England town; and the vital force, the improving soul of the town was the town meeting, which for all local concerns was king, lords and commons in one. It was the training school in which our fathers learned the science and the art of self-government, the school which has made us the most parliamentary people on the globe.

“In what other quarter of the world could such a phenomenon have been witnessed as the creation of the government of California in 1849, when out of the most heterogeneous and discordant elements a constitution and body of laws were formed and adopted which challenge comparison with those of the oldest governments in the world? This achievement was due to the law making habit of Americans. The spirit of the town meeting guided the colonies in their aspirations for independence, and finally created the Union. The Congress of the Union is the most general and comprehensive expression of this legislative habit of our people.

“The materials for tracing the origin of Congress are

scanty ; but they are sufficient to show the spirit which gave it birth.

“The idea of a Congress on this continent sprang from the necessity of union among the colonies for mutual protection ; and the desire for union logically expressed itself in an intercolonial representative assembly. Every such assembly in America has been a more or less marked symbol of union.

AMERICAN UNION.

“The first decisive act of union among the colonists was the convention of 1690, at New York. The revolution of 1689 in England, resulted in immediate and desperate war between that country and France, and soon involved the British and French colonies of America. The French of Canada, aided by the northern Indians, determined to carry the flag of Louis XIV. down the valley of the Hudson, and thus break in twain the British colonies. To meet this danger and to retaliate upon France, the General Court of Massachusetts, ever watchful of the welfare of its people, addressed letters of invitation to the neighboring colonies, asking them to appoint commissioners to meet and consult for the common defence. These commissioners met in convention, at New York, on the 1st of May, 1690, and determined to raise an “army” of eight hundred and fifty-five men, from the five colonies of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and Maryland, to repel the threatened invasion and to capture Canada in the name of William and Mary.*

* Doc History of New York, vol. ii., page 239, and Bancroft's History vol. iii., page 183.

Some of our historians have called this meeting of commissioners 'the first American Congress.' I find no evidence that the name 'Congress' was then applied to that assembly; though it is doubtless true that its organization and mode of procedure contained the germ of the future Congress.

"The New York convention called upon each of the five colonies for its quota of troops for the little army, and intrusted the management of the campaign to a board or council of war consisting of one officer from each colony. The several quotas were proportioned to the population of the several colonies, while the great and small colonies had an equal voice in directing the expedition. Here, in embryo, was the duplex system of popular and State representation.

THE FIRST AMERICAN CONGRESS.

"Sixty-four years later, a convention of commissioners from seven of the colonies met at Albany and called themselves a 'Congress.' So far as I have been able to discover, this was the first American assembly which called itself by that name. It was probably adopted because the convention bore some resemblance to that species of European international convention which in the language of diplomacy was called a congress.

"In order to obtain a clearer view of this important Albany Congress of 1754, we must understand the events which immediately preceded it.

"In 1748, in obedience to orders from England, the governors of the northern colonies met at Albany to conclude a treaty of peace with the Six-Nations. After this

was accomplished, the governors, sitting in secret council, united in a complaint that their salaries were not promptly and regularly paid, but that the colonial legislatures insisted upon the right to determine, by annual appropriations, the amounts to be paid.

“This petition, forwarded to the dissolute Duke of Bedford, then at the head of the colonial administration, was answered by a royal order directing the governors to demand from the colonial legislatures the payment of fixed salaries for a term of years, and threatening that if this were not done, Parliament would impose upon the colonies a direct tax for that purpose. Thus the first overt act which led to the Revolution was a demand for higher salaries; and, on the motion of the colonial governors at Albany, the British Board of Trade opened the debate in favor of parliamentary supremacy. Six years later came the reply from seven colonies through the Albany Congress of 1754.

“War with France was again imminent. Her battalions had descended the Ohio, and were threatening the northern frontier. The colonial governors called upon the legislatures to send commissioners to Albany to secure the alliance of the Six-Nations against the French, and to adopt measures for the common defence. On the 19th of June, 1754, twenty-five commissioners met at the little village of Albany, and, following the example of the governors who met there six years before, completed their treaty with the Indians, and then opened the question of a colonial union for common defence.

“Foremost among the commissioners was Benjamin Franklin; and through his voice and pen the Congress

and the colonies replied to the demands of England by proposing a plan of union to be founded upon the rights of the colonies as Englishmen. If his plan had been adopted, independence might have been delayed for half a century. Curiously enough, it was rejected by the colonies as having 'too much of the prerogative in it,' and by England as having 'too much of the democratic.'

"But the talismanic words 'Union' and 'Congress' had been spoken, and from that hour were never forgotten. The argument for colonial rights had also been stated in the perfect style of Franklin, and was never to be answered.

THE CONGRESS OF 1765.

"The second assembly which called itself a Congress met at New York in 1765. The mercantile policy of England, embodied in the long series of navigation acts, had finally culminated in Lord Grenville's stamp act and the general assertion of the right of Parliament to tax the colonies in all cases whatsoever. Again Massachusetts led the movement for union and resistance. On the 6th of June, 1765, her legislature adopted a resolution, offered by James Otis, to call a congress of delegates of the thirteen colonies, 'to consult together' and 'consider of a united representation to implore relief.' This call was answered by every colony, and on the 7th of October, 1765, twenty-seven delegates met at New York, and elected Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, chairman.

"There for the first time James Otis saw John Dickinson; there Gadsden and Rutledge sat beside Livingston and Dyer; there the brightest minds of America joined

in the discussion of their common danger and common rights. The session lasted eighteen days. Its deliberations were most solemn and momentous. Loyalty to the crown and a shrinking dread of opposing established authority were met by the fiery spirit which glowed in the breasts of the boldest thinkers. Amidst the doubt and hesitation of the hour, John Adams gave voice to the logic and spirit of the crisis when he said, 'You have rights antecedent to all earthly governments; rights that cannot be repealed or restrained by human laws; rights derived from the great Lawgiver of the universe.'

"Before adjourning they drafted and adopted a series of masterly addresses to the king, to the Parliament, to the people of England, and to their brethren of the colonies. They had formulated the thoughts of the people, and given voice to their aspirations for liberty. That Congress was indeed 'the day-star of the Revolution;' for though most of its members were devotedly loyal to the crown, yet, as Bancroft has said, some, like James Otis, as they went away from that Congress, 'seemed to hear the prophetic song of the sibyls chanting the spring-time of a new empire.'

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF 1774.

"Nine more years of supplication and neglect, of ministerial madness and stubborn colonial resistance, bring us to the early autumn of 1774, when the Continental Congress was assembling at Philadelphia. This time, the alarm had been sounded by New York, that a sister colony was being strangled by the heavy hand of a despotic ministry. The response was immediate and al

most unanimous. From eleven colonies came the foremost spirits to take counsel for the common weal. From the assaulted colony came Samuel and John Adams, Cushing and Paine. They set out from Boston in August, escorted by great numbers as far as Watertown. Their journey was a solemn and triumphant march. The men of Hartford met them with pledges to 'abide by the resolves which Congress might adopt,' and accompanied them to Middletown with carriages and a cavalcade. The bells of New Haven welcomed them, and Roger Sherman addressed them. After visiting the grave of the regicide Bidwell, they left New Haven to be received at New York by the 'Sons of Liberty,' who attended them across the Hudson. Everywhere they were exhorted to be true to the honor of England and the liberties of America.*

"With them, from New York and New England, came Jay and Livingston, Sherman and Deane, Hopkins and Duane. From the south came Washington and Henry, Randolph and Lee, Gadsden and Rutledge, and many other names now familiar; in all fifty-five men, sent by eleven colonies.

"On Monday, the 5th of September, 1774, they met at Smith's Tavern, in Philadelphia, and proceeded in a body to the Hall of the Carpenters. With what dignity and solemnity they began their work! Choosing for president Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, and for secretary the gentle and learned Charles Thomson, the translator of the Septuagint and the Greek Testament, they formally declared themselves 'the Congress,' and their chairman 'the President.' And how soon the spirit of

* Bancroft, vol. vii., chaps. 8, 9.

union, in the presence of a common danger, began to melt down the sharp differences of individual opinion!

“The first psalm and prayer to which that Congress listened sounded like a chapter of history and prophecy combined. The psalm was not selected for the occasion, but was a part of the regular Episcopal service for that day, the 7th of the month: ‘Plead thou my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me, and fight thou against them that fight against me. Lay hand upon the shield and buckler, and stand up to help me. Bring forth the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me. Let them be turned back and brought to confusion that imagine mischief for me. Let them be as the dust before the wind, and let the angel of the Lord scatter them.’ When the minister had ended the formal service, the spirit of the occasion burst forth from his lips in these memorable words of prayer: ‘Look down upon these American States who have fled to thee from the rod of the oppressor, and have thrown themselves on thy precious protection, desiring to be henceforth dependent only on thee; to thee they have appealed for the righteousness of their cause.’

“What would we not give for a complete record of the proceedings of that Congress! It sat with closed doors, with no reporters, and made no official record except the brief journal of motions and votes. To this journal, to private letters, and tradition, we are indebted for all we know of its proceedings.

“The delegates were clothed with no legislative powers. They could only consult and recommend. But they held higher commissions than any which can be em-

bodied in formal credentials. It was their high duty to formulate the thoughts and express the aspirations of the New World. Yet no organized body of men ever directed with more absolute sway the opinions and conduct of a nation.

“ As a reply to the Boston Port Bill, they requested all merchants and traders to send to Great Britain for no more goods until the sense of the Congress should be taken on the means for preserving the liberties of America. And this request was at once complied with. Knowing that the conduct of England was inspired by greed, that she had adopted the shopkeepers' policy, Congress resolved that, after a given date, the colonies would not buy from England nor sell to her merchants any commodity whatever, unless before that date the grievances of America should be redressed. And public sentiment rigidly enforced the resolution. With more distinctness and solemnity than ever before, the cause of the colonists, based on the inalienable laws of nature and the principles of the English constitution, was declared in addresses to the king, to the Parliament, and to the people of America; and, recommending that a new Congress be called the following spring, the Congress of 1774 adjourned, without day, on the 14th of October. The most striking fact connected with that Congress is that its resolutions were obeyed as though they had been clothed with all the sanctions of law. I doubt whether any law of Congress or of any State legislature has been so fully obeyed, in letter and spirit, as were the recommendations of the Continental Congress of 1774. But its action had been far from unanimous. There were strong men,

like Jay, who were conservative by nature and culture, and who restrained the more fiery enthusiasm of Henry and Adams; there were timid members who shrank from a contest with the royal authority; and there were traitors to the cause, who, like Galloway, secured a seat that they might more effectively serve the king as a royal spy.

“The resolves of that Congress and its address to the colonies were potent educating forces which prepared the people for a great struggle.

“Franklin was in England at that time, as the agent of the colonies, and presented the petitions of Congress. Parliament answered by declaring Massachusetts in rebellion. The king replied by sending an army to Boston and by offering to protect all loyal Americans, but ordering all others to be treated as traitors and rebels.

THE CONGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION AND OF THE CONFEDERATION.

“On the 10th of May, 1775, on the morning of the capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen, the second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia. The conduct of the king and Parliament, and the events at Boston, Lexington, and Concord, had already demonstrated the impossibility of reconciliation. It is difficult to imagine a situation more perplexing and more perilous than that which confronted the fifty-four members of the Congress of 1775. Their jurisdiction and powers were vague and uncertain; they were, in fact, only committees from twelve colonies, deputed to consult upon measures of conciliation, but with no means of resistance

to oppression beyond the voluntary agreement to suspend importations from Great Britain. "They formed no confederacy. They were not an executive government. They were not even a legislative body. They owed the use of a hall for their sessions to the courtesy of the carpenters of the city; there was not a foot of land on which they had a right to execute their decisions, and they had not one civil officer to carry out their commands, nor the power to appoint one.' They had no army, no treasury, no authority to tax, no right but to give counsel. 'They represented only the unformed opinion of an unformed people.'

"Yet that body was to undertake the great argument of reason with the foremost statesmen of Europe, and the greater argument of war with the first military power of the world. That Congress was to consolidate the vast and varied interests of a continent, express the will and opinion of three millions of people, and, amid the wreck and chaos of ruined colonial governments, rear the solid superstructure of a great republic. Strange as it now seems to us, timidity and conservatism controlled its action for nearly a year. The tie of affection that bound the colonists to England was too strong to be rudely severed. They deluded themselves by believing that while the tory party was their enemy, England was still their friend. Though their petition had been spurned with contempt, yet they postponed the most pressing necessities of the time in order to send a second humble petition and await an answer. After all, this delay was wise; the slow process of growth was going forward and could not be hastened. It was necessary that all

thoughtful men should see the hopelessness of reconciliation. It was necessary that the Dickinsons and the Jays should be satisfied. In the meantime, Congress was not idle; it was laying the foundation of the structure soon to be reared. In its proceedings, we find the origin of many customs which still prevail. On the 15th of May, 1775, it was ordered 'that this body will to-morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America.' This formula, modified only by the change of a single word, still describes the act by which each branch of our Congress resolves itself into 'a committee of the whole on the state of the Union.'

"On the 31st of May, 1775, on motion of Dr. Franklin, a committee was appointed to provide for 'establishing post for conveying letters and intelligence through the continent.' Franklin was made chairman of the committee, and thus became, in fact, the first postmaster-general of the United States.

"By resolution of June 14, 1775, Washington was made the chairman of our first committee on military affairs.

"On the 27th of May, 1775, it was resolved that Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Samuel Adams be a committee to consider of ways and means to supply these colonies with ammunition and military stores. Thus Washington was the chairman of our first committee of ways and means.

"While Congress was waiting for the king's answer to its second petition, Franklin revived the 'plan of union' which he had suggested twenty-one years before,

at the Albany Congress, and which finally, with a few changes, became the Articles of Confederation.

“It was not until the spring of 1776 that the action of the British Government destroyed all hopes of reconciliation; and when, at last, the great declaration was adopted, both the colonies and the Congress saw that their only safety lay in the boldest measures. By the Declaration of Independence, the sovereignty of the colonies was withdrawn from the British crown and lodged in the Continental Congress. No one of the colonies was ever independent or sovereign. No one colony declared itself independent of Great Britain; nor was the declaration made by all the colonies together *as colonies*.* It was made in the name and by the authority of the good people of the colonies as one nation. By that act they created, not independent States, but an independent nation, and named it ‘The United States of America;’ and, by the consent of the people, the sovereignty of the new nation was lodged in the Continental Congress. This is true, not only in point of law, but as a historical fact. The Congress became the only legislative, executive, and judicial power of the nation; the army became the army of the Continental Congress. One of its regiments, which was recruited from the nation generally, was called, ‘Congress’s Own,’ as a sort of reply to the ‘King’s Own,’ a royal regiment stationed at Boston. Officers were commissioned by Congress, and were sworn to obey its orders. The president of Congress was the chief executive officer of the nation. The chairmen of committees were heads of the executive depart-

* Von Holst’s “Constitutional History of the United States,” page 6.

ments. A committee sat as judges in admiralty and prize cases. The power of Congress was unlimited by any law or regulation, except the consent of the people themselves.

“On the first day of March, 1781, the Articles of Confederation, drafted by Congress, became the law of the land. But the functions of Congress were so slightly changed that we may say, with almost literal truth, that the Continental Congress which met on the 10th of May, 1775, continued unchanged in its character, and held an almost continuous session for thirteen years.

“‘History knows few bodies so remarkable. The Long Parliament of Charles I. and the French National Assembly of the last century are alone to be compared with it.’ Strange as it may appear, the acts of the Continental Congress which finally brought most disaster to the people, were those which gave to Congress its chief power. With no authority to levy direct taxes, Congress had but one resource for raising revenue: forced loans, in the form of bills of credit. And, so long as the Continental money maintained a reasonable share of credit, Congress was powerful. It was able to pay its army, its officers, and its agents, and thus to tide over the most difficult period of the Revolution.

“Great and conspicuous as were the services of the Continental Congress, it did not escape the fate which has pursued its successors. Jealousy of its power was manifested in a thousand ways; and the epithet “King Cong” was the byword of reproach during the latter half of the war. The people could not hear with patience that the members of Congress were living in comfort while the

soldiers were starving and freezing at Valley Forge. They accused Congress of weakness, indecision, and delay ; of withholding its full confidence from Washington ; and finally of plotting to supersede him by assigning an ambitious rival to his place. It is no doubt true that some intriguing members favored this disgraceful and treacherous design ; but they would not have been representative men if all had been patriots and sages.

“The Continental Congress was a migratory body, compelled sometimes to retire before the advance of the British army, and sometimes to escape the violence of the mob who assaulted its doors and demanded appropriations. Beginning its session in Philadelphia, it took refuge in Baltimore before the end of 1776. Later, it returned to Philadelphia ; went thence to Lancaster ; thence to York ; then again to Philadelphia ; thence, in succession, to Princeton, to Annapolis, and to Trenton ; and finally terminated its career in the city of New York.

“The estimation in which that Congress was held is the best gauge by which to judge of the strength and weakness of our government under the confederation. While the inspiration of the war fired the hearts of the people, Congress was powerful ; but when the victory was won, and the long arrears of debts and claims came up for payment, the power of Congress began to wane. Smitten with the curse of poverty and the greater curse of depreciated paper money, loaded with debts they could not pay, living as “pensioners on the bounty of France, insulted and scouted at by the public creditors, unable to fulfil the treaties they had made, bearded and encroached upon by the State authorities, finally begging for addi-

tional authority which the States refused to grant, thrown more and more into the shade by the very contrast of former power, the Continental Congress sank fast into decrepitude and contempt.”*

“During the last three or four years of its existence, few men of first-class abilities were willing to serve as members. It was difficult to secure the attendance of those who were elected; and when a quorum was obtained, it was impossible, under the articles of confederation, to accomplish any worthy work. Even after the adoption of the new constitution, the old Congress was so feeble that for many months it was doubtful whether it had enough vitality left to pass the necessary ordinance appointing the day for the presidential election and the day for putting the new government in motion.

“With a narrowness and selfishness almost incredible, the old Congress wrangled and debated and disagreed for weeks and months before they could determine where the new government should find its temporary seat.

“It is sad to reflect that a body whose early record was so glorious should be doomed to drag out a feeble existence for many months, and expire at last without a sign, with not even the power to announce its own dissolution.

“I have always regarded our national constitution as the most remarkable achievement in the history of legislation. As the weakness of the old confederation became more apparent, the power of the separate States became greater, and the difficulties of union were correspondingly increased. It needed all the appreciation of common

* Hildreth, vol. iii., page 547.

danger, springing from such popular tumults as Shay's Rebellion, all the foreign complications that grew out of the weakness of the confederation, and finally, all the authority of the fathers of the Revolution, with Washington at their head, to frame the constitution and to secure its adoption. We are apt to forget how near our government was brought to the verge of chaos, and to forget by how small a vote the constitution was adopted in many of the States. Only in Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia was the vote unanimous. Even Massachusetts gave it but a majority of nineteen out of a vote of three hundred and fifty-six. In Virginia it received but ten majority, in New Hampshire eleven, and in Pennsylvania twenty-three. These votes disclose the strength of the political parties, federal and anti-federal, to which the constitution gave birth. This brings us to

THE CONGRESS OF THE CONSTITUTION,

which began its first session at New York, on the 4th of March, 1789.

“Fears were entertained that some of the States might neglect or refuse to elect senators and representatives. Three States had hitherto refused to adopt the constitution. More than a month passed before a quorum of the Senate and House appeared in New York; but on the 6th of April, 1789, a quorum of both houses met in joint session and witnessed the opening and counting of the votes for President and Vice-President by John Langdon. Having dispatched the venerable Charles Thomson, late secretary of the old Congress, to Mount Vernon, to inform Washington of his election, the new Congress

addressed itself to the great work required by the constitution. The three sessions of the first Congress lasted in the aggregate five hundred and nineteen days, exceeding by more than fifty days the sessions of any subsequent Congress. It was the high duty of this body to interpret the powers conferred upon it by the constitution, and to put in motion not only the machinery of the Senate and House, but the more complex machinery of the executive and judicial departments.

“It is worth while to observe with what largeness of comprehension and minuteness of detail the members of that Congress studied the problems before them. While Washington was making his way from Mount Vernon to New York, they were determining with what ceremonials he should be received, and with what formalities the intercourse between the President and the Congress should be conducted. A joint committee of both houses met him on the Jersey shore, in a richly furnished barge, and landing at the Battery, escorted him to the residence which Congress had prepared and furnished for his reception. Then came the question of the title by which he should be addressed. The Senate insisted that ‘a decent respect for the opinion and practice of civilized nations required a special title,’ and proposed that the President should be addressed as ‘His Highness the President of the United States of America, and Protector of their Liberties.’ At the earnest remonstrance of the more Republican house, the Senate gave way, and finally agreed that he should be addressed simply as ‘the President of the United States.’

“It was determined that the President should, in per

son, deliver his 'annual speech,' as it was then called, to the two houses in joint session; and that each house should adopt an address in reply, to be delivered to the President at his official residence.

"These formalities were manifestly borrowed from the practice of the British Parliament, and were maintained until near the close of Jefferson's administration.

"Communications from the executive departments were also to be made to the two houses by the heads of those departments in person. This custom was unfortunately swept away by the Republican reaction which set in a few years later.

"Among questions of ceremony were also the rules by which the President should regulate his social relations to citizens. Washington addressed a long letter of inquiry to John Adams, and to several other leading statesmen of that time, asking their advice on this subject. The inquiry resulted in the conclusion that the President should be under no obligation to make or return any social call; but regular days were appointed, on which the President should hold levees and thus maintain social intercourse with his fellow-citizens. At these assemblages the President and Mrs. Washington occupied an elevated dais, and introductory ceremonies of obeisance and salutation were carefully prescribed.

"Not less curious, as indicating the spirit of that time, were the formalities of intercourse between the two branches of Congress. When a communication was sent from one house to the other, the messenger was required to make his obeisance as he entered the bar, a second as he delivered his message to the presiding

officer, a third after its delivery, and a final obeisance as he retired from the hall. It was much debated whether the members of each house should remain standing while a communication was being delivered from the other. These formalities were subsequently much abridged, though traces of them still remain.

“In adopting its rules of procedure, the House provided, among other things, that the sergeant-at-arms should procure a proper symbol of his office, of such form and device as the speaker should direct, to be placed *on* the table during the sitting of the House, but *under* the table when the House is in committee of the whole; said symbol to be borne by the sergeant-at-arms when executing the commands of the House during its sitting. This symbol, now called the speaker’s mace, modelled after the Roman *fascēs*, is a bundle of ebony rods, fastened with silver bands, having at its top a silver globe surmounted by a silver eagle. In the red-republican period of Jefferson’s administration, an attempt was made to banish the mace; and a zealous economist in the House of Representatives proposed to melt down and coin its silver, and convert the proceeds into the treasury. The motion failed, however, and the mace still holds its place at the right hand of the speaker, when the House is in session.

“The House conducted its proceedings with open doors; but the Senate, following the example of the Continental Congress, held all sessions in secret until near the end of the second Congress. Since then its doors have been closed during executive sessions only.

“It is greatly to the credit of the eminent men who

sat in the first Congress that they deliberated long and carefully before they completed any work of legislation. They had been in session four months when their first bill, 'relating to the time and manner of administering certain oaths,' became a law. Then followed in quick succession the great statutes of the session: to provide a revenue to fill the empty treasury of the nation; to create the department of the treasury, the department of foreign affairs, the department of war; to create an army; to regulate commerce; to establish the government of our vast territory; and, that monument of juridical learning, the act to establish the judiciary of the United States.

"I must not omit from this summary the ninth statute in the order of time, the 'act for the establishment and support of light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers.' As an example of broad-minded statesmanship on the subject, that statute stands alone in the legislative history of the last century. Everywhere else the commerce of the ocean was annoyed and obstructed by unjust and vexatious light-house charges. But our first Congress, in a brief statute of four sections, provided 'that from the 15th day of August, 1789, all the light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers of the United States shall be maintained at the expense of the national treasury.' From that date the lights of our coast have shone free as the sunlight for all the ships of the world.

"Great as were the merits of that first Congress, it was not free from many of the blemishes which have clouded the fame of its successors. It dampens not a little our enthusiasm for the 'superior virtues of the

fathers,' to learn that Hamilton's monument of statesmanship, the funding bill, which gave life to the public credit and saved from dishonor the war debts of the States, was for a time hopelessly defeated by the votes of one section of the Union, and was carried at last by a legislative bargain, which in the mildest slang of our day would be called a 'log-rolling job.' The bill fixing the permanent seat of the government on the banks of the Potomac was the argument which turned the scale and carried the funding bill. The bargain carried them both through. Nor were demagogues of the smaller type unknown among our fathers. For example, when a joint resolution was pending in the house of the first Congress to supply each member at the public expense with copies of all the newspapers published in New York, an amendment was offered to restrict the supply to one paper for each member, the preamble declaring that this appropriation was made 'because newspapers, being highly beneficial in disseminating useful knowledge, are deserving of public encouragement by Congress.' That is, the appropriation was not to be made for the benefit of members, but to aid and encourage the press! The proprietors of our great dailies would smile at this patriotic regard for their prosperity. It is scarcely necessary to add that the original resolution passed without the amendment.

"Whatever opinions we may now entertain of the federalists as a party, it is unquestionably true that we are indebted to them for the strong points of the constitution, and for the stable government they founded and strengthened during the administrations of Washing

ton and Adams. Hardly a month passed, during that period, in which threats of disunion were not made with more or less vehemence and emphasis. But the foundations of national union and prosperity had been so wisely and deeply laid that succeeding revolutions of public opinion failed to destroy them.

“With the administration of Jefferson came the reaction against the formal customs and stately manners of the founders. That skilful and accomplished leader of men; who had planted the germ of secession in the resolutions of 1798, brought to his administration the aid of those simple, democratic manners which were so effectual in deepening the false impression that the preceding administration had sought to establish a monarchy.

“In delivering his inaugural, Jefferson appeared before Congress in the plainest attire. Discarding the plush breeches, silk stockings, and silver knee-buckles, he wore plain pantaloons; and his Republican admirers noted the fact that no aristocratic shoe-buckles covered his instep, but his plain American shoes were fastened with honest leather strings. The carriage and footmen, with outriders in livery, disappeared; and the spectacle of the President on horseback was hailed as the certain sign of Republican equality. These changes were noted by his admirers as striking proofs of his democratic spirit; but they did not escape the equally extravagant and absurd criticism of his enemies. Mr. Goodrich has preserved an anecdote which illustrates the absurdity of both parties. Near the close of Jefferson’s term, the congressional caucus had named Mr. Madison for the president. The leading barber of Washington (who was

of course a federalist) while shaving a federalist senator, vehemently burst out in this strain :

“ ‘ Surely this country is doomed to disgrace and shame. What presidents we might have, sir ! Just look at Daggett, of Connecticut, and Stockton, of New Jersey ! What queues they have got, sir—as big as your wrist, and powdered every day, sir, like real gentlemen as they are. Such men, sir, would confer dignity upon the chief magistracy ; but this little Jim Madison, with a queue no bigger than a pipe-stem ! Sir, it is enough to make a man forswear his country ! ’ ”

“ Many customs of that early time have been preserved to our own day. In the crypt constructed under the dome of the Capitol, as the resting-place for the remains of Washington, a guard was stationed, and a light was kept burning for more than half a century. Indeed, the office of keeper of the crypt was not abolished until after the late war.

“ For the convenience of one of the early speakers of the House, an urn filled with snuff was fastened to the speaker’s desk : and until last year, I have never known it to be empty during the session of the House.

“ The administration of Madison, notwithstanding the gloomy prediction of the federalist barber, restored some of the earlier customs. It had been hinted that a carriage was more necessary to him than to the widower Jefferson. Assisted by his beautiful and accomplished wife, he resumed the presidential levees ; and many society people regretted that the elevated dais was not restored, to aid in setting off the small stature of Mr. Madison.

“The limits of this article will not allow me to notice the changes of manners and methods in Congress since the administration of the elder Adams. Such a review would bring before us many striking characters and many stirring scenes. We should find the rage of party spirit pursuing Washington to his voluntary retreat at Mount Vernon at the close of his term, and denouncing him as the corrupt and wicked destroyer of his country. We should find the same spirit publicly denouncing a chief-justice of the United States as a ‘driveller and a fool,’ and impeaching, at the bar of the Senate, an eminent associate justice of the supreme court for having manfully and courageously discharged the high duties of his office in defiance of the party passions of the hour. We should see the pure and patriotic Oliver Wolcott, the secretary of the treasury, falsely charged, by a committee of Congress, with corruption in office and with the monstrous crime of having set on fire the public buildings for the purpose of destroying the evidences of his guilt. We should see the two houses in joint session witnessing the opening of the returns of the electoral colleges and the declaration of a tie vote between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr; and then, in the midst of the fiercest excitement, we should see the House of Representatives in continuous session for eight days, several members in the last stages of illness being brought in on beds and attended by their wives, while the ballotings went on which resulted in Jefferson’s election. And we should witness a similar scene, twenty-four years later, when the election of the younger Adams by the House, avenged in part the wrong of his father.

“In the long line of those who have occupied seats in Congress, we should see, here and there, rising above the undistinguished mass, the figures of those great men whose lives and labors have made their country illustrious, and whose influence upon its destiny will be felt for ages to come. We should see that group of great statesmen whom the last war with England brought to public notice, among whom were Ames and Randolph, Clay and Webster, Calhoun and Benton, Wright and Prentiss, making their era famous by their statesmanship, and creating and destroying political parties by their fierce antagonisms. We should see the folly and barbarism of the so-called code of honor destroying noblemen in the fatal meadow of Bladensburg. We should see the spirit of liberty awaking the conscience of the nation to the sin and danger of slavery, whose advocates had inherited and kept alive the old anarchic spirit of disunion. We should trace the progress of that great struggle from the days when John Quincy Adams stood in the House of Representatives, like a lion at bay, defending the sacred right of petition; when, after his death, Joshua R. Giddings continued the good fight, standing at this post for twenty years, his white locks, like the plume of Henry of Navarre, always showing where the battle for freedom raged most fiercely; when his small band in Congress, re-enforced by Hale and Sumner, Wade and Chase, Lovejoy and Stevens, continued the struggle amid the most turbulent scenes; when daggers were brandished and pistols were drawn in the halls of Congress; and later, when, one by one, the senators and representatives of eleven States, breathing defiance and uttering maledic-

tions upon the Union, resigned their seats and left the Capitol to take up arms against their country. We should see the Congress of a people long unused to war, when confronted by a supreme danger, raising, equipping, and supporting an army greater than all the armies of Napoleon and Wellington combined; meeting the most difficult questions of international and constitutional law; and, by new forms of taxation, raising a revenue which, in one year of the war, amounted to more than all the national taxes collected during the first half century of the government. We should see them so amending the constitution as to strengthen the safeguards of the Union and insure universal liberty and universal suffrage, and restoring to their places in the Union the eleven States whose governments, founded on secession, fell into instant ruin when the Rebellion collapsed; and we should see them, even when the danger of destruction seemed greatest, voting the largest sum of money ever appropriated by one act, to unite the East and the West, the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, by a material bond of social, commercial, and political union.

“In this review we should see courage and cowardice, patriotism and selfishness, far-sighted wisdom and short-sighted folly, joining in a struggle always desperate and sometimes doubtful; and yet, out of all this turmoil and fierce strife we should see the Union slowly but surely rising, with greater strength and brighter lustre, to a higher place among the nations.

“Congress has always been and must always be the theatre of contending opinions; the forum where the opposing forces of political philosophy meet to measure their

strength; where the public good must meet the assaults of local and sectional interests; in a word, the appointed place where the nation seeks to utter its thought and register its will.

CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE.

“This brings me to consider the present relations of Congress to the other great departments of the government, and to the people. The limits of this article will permit no more than a glance at a few principal heads of inquiry.

“In the main, the balance of powers so admirably adjusted and distributed among the three great departments of the government have been safely preserved. It was the purpose of our fathers to lodge absolute power nowhere; to leave each department independent within its own sphere; yet, in every case, responsible for the exercise of its discretion. But some dangerous innovations have been made.

“And first, the appointing power of the President has been seriously encroached upon by Congress, or rather by the members of Congress. Curiously enough, this encroachment originated in the act of the chief executive himself. The fierce popular hatred of the federal party, which resulted in the elevation of Jefferson to the presidency, led that officer to set the first example of removing men from office on account of political opinions. For political causes alone he removed a considerable number of officers who had recently been appointed by President Adams, and thus set the pernicious example. His immediate successors made only a few removals for political

reasons. But Jackson made his political opponents who were in office feel the full weight of his executive hand. From that time forward the civil offices of the government became the prizes for which political parties strove; and, twenty-five years ago, the corrupting doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils' was shamelessly announced as an article of political faith and practice. It is hardly possible to state with adequate force the noxious influence of this doctrine. It was bad enough when the federal officers numbered no more than eight or ten thousand; but now, when the growth of the country and the great increase in the number of public offices occasioned by the late war, have swelled the civil list to more than eighty thousand, and to the ordinary motives for political strife this vast patronage is offered as a reward to the victorious party, the magnitude of the evil can hardly be measured. The public mind has, by degrees, drifted into an acceptance of this doctrine; and thus an election has become a fierce, selfish struggle between the 'ins' and the 'outs,' the one striving to keep and the other to gain the prize of office. It is not possible for any president to select, with any degree of intelligence, so vast an army of office-holders without the aid of men who are acquainted with the people of the various sections of the country. And thus it has become the habit of presidents to make most of their appointments on the recommendation of members of Congress. During the last twenty-five years, it has been understood, by the Congress and the people, that offices are to be obtained by the aid of senators and representatives, who thus become the dispensers, sometimes the brokers of patronage.

The members of State legislatures who choose a senator, and the district electors who choose a representative, look to the man of their choice for appointments to office. Thus, from the President downward, through all the grades of official authority, to the electors themselves, civil office becomes a vast corrupting power, to be used in running the machine of party politics.

“This evil has been greatly aggravated by the passage of the Tenure of Office Act, of 1867, whose object was to restrain President Johnson from making removals for political cause. But it has virtually resulted in the usurpation, by the Senate, of a large share of the appointing power. The President can remove no officer without the consent of the Senate; and such consent is not often given, unless the appointment of the successor nominated to fill the proposed vacancy is agreeable to the senator in whose State the appointee resides. Thus, it has happened that a policy, inaugurated by an early president, has resulted in seriously crippling the just powers of the executive, and has placed in the hands of senators and representatives a power most corrupting and dangerous.

“Not the least serious evil resulting from this invasion of the executive functions by members of Congress is the fact that it greatly impairs their own usefulness as legislators. One-third of the working hours of senators and representatives is hardly sufficient to meet the demands made upon them in reference to appointments to office. The spirit of that clause of the constitution which shields them from arrest ‘during their attendance on the session of their respective houses, and in going to and

from the same,' should also shield them from being arrested from their legislative work; morning, noon, and night, by office-seekers. To sum up in a word: the present system invades the independence of the executive, and makes him less responsible for the character of his appointments; it impairs the efficiency of the legislator by diverting him from his proper sphere of duty and involving him in the intrigues of aspirants for office; it degrades the civil service itself by destroying the personal independence of those who are appointed; it repels from the service those high and manly qualities which are so necessary to a pure and efficient administration; and finally, it debauches the public mind by holding up public office as the reward of mere party zeal.

"To reform this service is one of the highest and most imperative duties of statesmanship. This reform cannot be accomplished without a complete divorce between Congress and the executive in the matter of appointments. It will be a proud day when an administration senator or representative, who is in good standing in his party, can say as Thomas Hughes said, during his recent visit to this country, that though he was on the most intimate terms with the members of his own administration, yet it was not in his power to secure the removal of the humblest clerk in the civil service of his government.

"This is not the occasion to discuss the recent enlargement of the jurisdiction of Congress in reference to the election of a president and vice-president by the States. But it cannot be denied that the electoral bill has spread a wide and dangerous field for congressional action. Unless the boundaries of its power shall be re-

stricted by a new amendment of the constitution, we have seen the last of our elections of president on the old plan. The power to decide who has been elected may be so used as to exceed the power of electing.

“I have long believed that the official relations between the executive and Congress should be more open and direct. They are now conducted by correspondence with the presiding officers of the two houses, by consultation with committees, or by private interviews with individual members. This frequently leads to misunderstandings, and may lead to corrupt combinations. It would be far better for both departments if the members of the cabinet were permitted to sit in Congress and participate in the debates on measures relating to their several departments—but, of course, without a vote. This would tend to secure the ablest men for the chief executive offices; it would bring the policy of the administration into the fullest publicity by giving both parties ample opportunity for criticism and defence.

CONGRESS OVERBURDENED.

“As a result of the great growth of the country and of the new legislation arising from the late war, Congress is greatly overloaded with work. It is safe to say that the business which now annually claims the attention of Congress is tenfold more complex and burdensome than it was forty years ago. For example: the twelve annual appropriation bills, with their numerous details, now consume two-thirds of each short session of the House. Forty years ago, when the appropriations were made more in block, one week was sufficient for the work. The vast

extent of our country, the increasing number of States and Territories, the legislation necessary to regulate our mineral lands, to manage our complex systems of internal revenue, banking, currency, and expenditure, have so increased the work of Congress that no one man can ever read the bills and the official reports relating to current legislation; much less can he qualify himself for intelligent action upon them. As a necessary consequence, the real work of legislation is done by the committees; and their work must be accepted or rejected without full knowledge of its merits. This fact alone renders leadership in Congress, in the old sense of the word, impossible. For many years we have had the leadership of committees and chairmen of committees; but no one man can any more be the leader of all the legislation of the Senate or of the House, than one lawyer or one physician can now be foremost in all the departments of law or medicine. The evils of loose legislation resulting from this situation must increase rather than diminish, until a remedy is provided.

“John Stuart Mill held that a numerous popular assembly is radically unfit to *make good laws*, but is the best possible means of *getting good laws made*. He suggested, as a permanent part of the constitution of a free country, a legislative commission, composed of a few trained men, to draft such laws as the legislature, by general resolutions, shall direct, which draft shall be adopted by the legislature, without change, or returned to the commission to be amended.*

“Whatever may be thought of Mr. Mill's suggestion,

* Mill's Autobiography, pp. 26-45.

it is clear that some plan must be adopted to relieve Congress from the infinite details of legislation, and to preserve harmony and coherence in our laws.

“Another change observable in Congress, as well as in the legislatures of other countries, is the decline of oratory. The press is rendering the orator obsolete. Statistics now furnish the materials upon which the legislator depends ; and a column of figures will often demolish a dozen pages of eloquent rhetoric.

“Just now, too, the day of sentimental politics is passing away, and the work of Congress is more nearly allied to the business interests of the country and to ‘the dismal science,’ as political economy is called by the ‘practical men’ of our time.

CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE.

“The legislation of Congress comes much nearer to the daily life of the people than ever before. Twenty years ago, the presence of the national government was not felt by one citizen in a hundred. Except in paying his postage and receiving his mail, the citizen of the interior rarely came in contact with the national authority. Now, he meets it in a thousand ways. Formerly the legislation of Congress referred chiefly to our foreign relations, to indirect taxes, to the government of the army, the navy, and the Territories. Now a vote in Congress may, any day, seriously derange the business affairs of every citizen.

“And this leads me to say, that now, more than ever before, the people are responsible for the character of their Congress. If that body be ignorant, reckless, and

corrupt, it is because the people tolerate ignorance, recklessness, and corruption. If it be intelligent, brave, and pure, it is because the people demand those high qualities to represent them in the national legislature. Congress lives in the blaze of 'that fierce light which beats against the throne.' The telegraph and the press will to-morrow morning announce at a million breakfast tables what has been said and done in Congress to-day. Now, as always, Congress represents the prevailing opinions and political aspirations of the people. The wildest delusions of paper money, the crudest theories of taxation, the passions and prejudices that find expression in the Senate and House, were first believed and discussed at the firesides of the people, on the corners of the streets, and in the caucuses and conventions of political parties.

"The most alarming feature of our situation is the fact that so many citizens of high character and solid judgment pay but little attention to the sources of political power, to the selection of those who shall make their laws. The clergy, the faculties of colleges, and many of the leading business men of the community, never attend the township caucus, the city primaries, or the county convention; but they allow the less intelligent and the more selfish and corrupt members of the community to make the slates and 'run the machine' of politics. They wait until the machine has done its work, and then, in surprise, and horror at the ignorance and corruption in public office, sigh for the return of that mythical period called the 'better and purer days of the republic.' It is precisely this neglect of the first steps in our political processes that has made possible the

worst evils of our system. Corrupt and incompetent presidents, judges, and legislators can be removed, but when the fountains of political power are corrupted, when voters themselves become venial and elections fraudulent, there is no remedy except by awakening the public conscience, and bringing to bear upon the subject the power of public opinion and the penalties of the law. The practice of buying and selling votes at our popular elections has already gained a foothold, though it has not gone as far as in England.

“It is mentioned in the recent biography of Lord Macaulay, as a boast, that his three elections to the House of Commons cost him but ten thousand dollars. A hundred years ago, bribery of electors was far more prevalent and shameless in England than it now is.

“There have always been, and always will be, bad men in all human pursuits. There was a Judas in the college of the Apostles, an Arnold in the army of the Revolution, a Burr in our early politics; and they have had successors in all departments of modern life. But it is demonstrable, as a matter of history, that on the whole the standard of public and private morals is higher in the United States at the present time than ever before; that men in public and private stations are held to a more rigid accountability, and that the average moral tone of Congress is higher to-day than at any previous period of our history.* It is certainly true that

* On this point I beg to refer the reader to a speech delivered by Hon. George F. Hoar, in the House of Representatives, August 9, 1876, in which that distinguished gentleman said: “I believe there is absolutely less of corruption, less of maladministration, and less of vice and evil in public life than there was in the sixteen years which covered the administration of

our late war disturbed the established order of society, awakened a reckless spirit of adventure and speculation, and greatly multiplied the opportunities and increased the temptations to evil. The disorganization of the Southern States and the temporary disfranchisement of its leading citizens threw a portion of their representation in Congress, for a short time, into the hands of political adventurers, many of whom used their brief hold on power for personal ends, and thus brought disgrace upon the national legislature. And it is also true that the enlarged sphere of legislation so mingled public duties and private interests, that it was not easy to draw the line between them. From that cause, also, the reputation, and in some cases the character, of public men suffered eclipse. But the earnestness and vigor with which wrong-doing is everywhere punished is a strong guaranty of the purity of those who may hold posts of authority and honor. Indeed, there is now danger in the opposite direction, namely, that criticism may degenerate into mere slander, and put an end to its power for good by being used as the means to assassinate the reputation and destroy the usefulness of honorable men. It is as much the duty of all good men to protect and defend the reputation of worthy public servants as to detect and punish public rascals.

“In a word, our national safety demands that the fountains of political power shall be made pure by intelligence, and kept pure by vigilance; that the best citi-

Washington, the administration of John Adams, and the first term of Jefferson.” This assertion is maintained by numerous citations of unquestioned facts in the speech.

zens shall take heed to the selection and election of the worthiest and most intelligent among them to hold seats in the national legislature; and that when the choice has been made, the continuance of their representative shall depend upon his faithfulness, his ability, and his willingness to work.

CONGRESS AND CULTURE.

“In Congress, as everywhere else, careful study—thorough, earnest work—is the only sure passport to usefulness and distinction. From its first meeting in 1774 to its last in 1788, three hundred and fifty-four men sat in the Continental Congress. Of these, one hundred and eighteen—one third of the whole number—were college graduates. That third embraced much the largest number of those whose names have come down to us as the great founders of the republic. Since the adoption of the constitution of 1787, six thousand two hundred and eighteen men have held seats in Congress; and among them all, thorough culture and earnest, arduous work have been the leading characteristics of those whose service has been most useful and whose fame has been most enduring. Galloway wrote of Samuel Adams: ‘He drinks little, eats temperately, thinks much, and is most indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects.’ This description can still be fittingly applied to all men who deserve and achieve success anywhere, but especially in public life. As a recent writer has said, in discussing the effect of Prussian culture, so we may say of culture in Congress: ‘The lesson is, that whether you want him for war or peace, there is no way

in which you can get so much out of a man as by training, not in pieces, but the whole of him; and that the trained men, other things being equal, are pretty sure, in the long run, to be masters of the world.'

"Congress must always be the exponent of the political character and culture of the people; and if the next centennial does not find us a great nation, with a great and worthy Congress, it will be because those who represent the enterprise, the culture, and the morality of the nation, do not aid in controlling the political forces which are employed to select the men who shall occupy the great places of trust and power."

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S CONGRESSIONAL CAREER.

The Wade-Davis Manifesto—General Garfield before the Convention—Moral Courage wins the Day—Triumphant Nomination and Election of General Garfield—Is appointed a Member of the Committee of Ways and Means—Speech on the Constitutional Amendment—A Grand Denunciation of Slavery—Speech on the Reconstruction of the Southern States—Speech on Confiscation—A Reminiscence of the War—Gradual Rise of the Negro—How Garfield refused to surrender a Fugitive Slave—Speech on State Sovereignty—General Garfield as a Temperance Worker—How he shut up a Beer Brewery—A Good Speculation—General Garfield's Tariff Record—Views of the Iron and Steel Bulletin—General Garfield's Course Satisfactory—To the Protectionists—His Real Position on this Question—Re-election of General Garfield to Congress—Is made Chairman of the Military Committee—Successive re-elections to Congress—Is made Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations—Debate on the Civil Appropriation Bill of 1872—General Garfield's mode of conducting Public Business—The Salary Grab—General Garfield's Course respecting it—Letter to a Friend—Garfield successfully Vindicates his Course—A Silly Rumor Refuted—General Garfield urges the Repeal of the Salary Bill.

WHEN the time for holding the Congressional Convention of General Garfield's district arrived in 1864, his political enemies spread the report through the district that he had written the famous Wade-Davis manifesto against President Lincoln, or was at least thoroughly in sympathy with it. This manifesto had created the most intense excitement throughout the West, and especially in the

Western Reserve, where Mr. Lincoln was universally beloved, and where any attempt to criticise his course was resented by the sturdy Republican phalanx as almost equal to disloyalty. The consequence was that General Garfield was summoned by a committee to appear before the Convention and explain himself. It seemed to him a square challenge to his independence, and he resolved to meet it manfully. He went to the Convention, was given a seat on the platform, and was called upon by the chairman for a statement as to his connection with the obnoxious letter. He made a speech which he supposed could have no other effect than to dig his political grave. He had not written the Wade-Davis letter, he said, but he had only one regret connected with it, and that was that there was a necessity for its appearance. He approved the letter, defended the motives of its authors, asserted his right to independence of thought and action, and told the delegates that if they did not want a free agent for their representative, they had better find another man, for he did not desire to serve them any longer. After he had finished speaking, he left the platform and strode out of the hall. When he reached the foot of the stairs he heard a great tumult above, which he imagined was the signal of his unanimous rejection. On the contrary, it was the sound of his nomination by acclamation. No sooner had he left than an Ashtabula delegate rose and said that he thought the Convention could not do better than to renominate by acclamation a man of such independence and courage as General Garfield had just shown himself to be. His motion was carried with a hurrah before the delegates opposed to Garfield had time to open their mouths. Gov.

ernor Todd said, after the meeting dispersed, that a district that would allow a young fellow like Garfield to tweak its nose and cuff its ears in that manner deserved to have him saddled on it for the rest of his life. And it came near being the case.

The election came off in the fall of 1864, and General Garfield was returned by a majority of nearly 12,000 votes. His return to the House was a matter of general rejoicing to the Republicans in Congress, and so highly was he esteemed that he was appointed a member of the Committee of Ways and Means. This was done at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, who had spoken of him as one of the best informed men on financial matters to be found in public life. The Committee of Ways and Means is the most important in the House. It is charged with the consideration and preparation of all the financial measures of Congress, and provides the means of raising the revenue. Consequently its members are chosen by the Speaker with the greatest care, and are selected from the ablest members of the House. General Garfield gave himself up to a profound study of financial matters, and soon made it apparent to all that the praise of the Secretary of the Treasury was neither rashly bestowed nor undeserved.

General Garfield continued an active and leading debater in Congress, and fully maintained the reputation he had made during his first years in that body. He spoke frequently and eloquently. He supported the constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery everywhere within the limits of the United States, and in the course of his remarks said :

“Mr. Speaker:—We shall never know why slavery dies so hard in this Republic and in this hall till we know why sin is long-lived and Satan is immortal. With marvellous tenacity of existence, it has outlived the expectations of its friends and the hopes of its enemies. It has been declared here and elsewhere to be in the several stages of mortality—wounded, moribund, dead. The question was raised by my colleague (Mr. Cox) yesterday whether it was indeed dead, or only in a troubled sleep. I know of no better illustration of its condition than is found in Sallust’s admirable history of the great conspirator, Cataline, who, when his final battle was fought and lost, his army broken and scattered, was found far in advance of his own troops, lying among the dead enemies of Rome, yet breathing a little, but exhibiting in his countenance all the ferocity of spirit which had characterized his life. So, sir, this body of slavery lies before us among the dead enemies of the Republic, mortally wounded, impotent in its fiendish wickedness, but with its old ferocity of look, bearing the unmistakable marks of its infernal origin.

“Who does not remember that thirty years ago—a short period in the life of a nation—but little could be said with impunity in these halls on the subject of slavery? How well do gentlemen here remember the history of that distinguished predecessor of mine, Joshua R. Giddings, lately gone to his rest, who, with his forlorn hope of faithful men, took his life in his hand, and in the name of justice protested against the great crime, and who stood bravely in his place until his white locks,

like the plume of Henry of Navarre, marked where the battle for freedom raged fiercest !

“ We can hardly realize that this is the same people and these the same halls, where now scarcely a man can be found who will venture to do more than falter out an apology for slavery, protesting in the same breath that he has no love for the dying tyrant. None, I believe, but that man of more than supernal boldness, from the city of New York (Mr. Fernando Wood), has ventured, this session, to raise his voice in favor of slavery for its own sake. He still sees in its features the reflection of beauty and divinity, and only he. ‘ How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning ! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations ! ’ Many mighty men have been slain by thee ; many proud ones have humbled themselves at thy feet ! All along the coast of our political sea these victims of slavery lie like stranded wrecks, broken on the headlands of freedom. How lately did its advocates, with impious boldness, maintain it as God’s own, to be venerated and cherished as divine. It was another and higher form of civilization. It was the holy evangel of America dispensing its mercies to a benighted race, and destined to bear countless blessings to the wilderness of the West. In its mad arrogance it lifted its hand to strike down the fabric of the Union, and since that fatal day it has been a ‘ fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth. ’ Like the spirit that Jesus cast out, it has, since then, ‘ been seeking rest and finding none. ’

“ It has sought in all the corners of the Republic to

find some hiding-place in which to shelter itself from the death it so richly deserves.

"It sought an asylum in the untrodden territories of the West; but, with a whip of scorpions, indignant freeman drove it thence. I do not believe that a loyal man can now be found who would consent that it should again enter them. It has no hopes of harbor there. It found no protection of favor in the hearts or consciences of the freemen of the Republic, and has fled for its last hope of safety behind the shield of the constitution. We propose to follow it there, and drive it thence as Satan was exiled from heaven."

During the same session the question of the reconstruction of the Southern States and the proper treatment of the negroes was debated. General Garfield spoke earnestly on the subject, and on one occasion said:

"We should do nothing inconsistent with the spirit and genius of our institutions. We should do nothing for revenge, but everything for security; nothing for the past, everything for the present and the future. Indemnity for the past we can never obtain. The four hundred thousand graves in which sleep our fathers and brothers, murdered by rebellion, will keep their sacred trust till the angel of the resurrection bids the dead come forth. The tears, the sorrow, the unutterable anguish of broken hearts can never be atoned for. We turn from that sad but glorious past, and demand such securities for the future as can never be destroyed.

"We must recognize in all our action the stupendous facts of the war. In the very crisis of our fate, God brought us face to face with the alarming truth that we

must lose our own freedom or grant it to the slave. In the extremity of our distress we called upon the black man to help us save the Republic, and amid the very thunder of battle we made a covenant with him, sealed both with his blood and ours, and witnessed by Jehovah, that when the nation was redeemed he should be free and share with us the glories and blessing of freedom. In the solemn words of the great Proclamation of Emancipation, we not only declared the slaves forever free, but we pledged the faith of the nation 'to maintain their freedom'—mark the words, '*to maintain their freedom.*' The Omniscient witness will appear in judgment against us if we do not fulfil that covenant. Have we done it? Have we given freedom to the black man? What is freedom? Is it a mere negation; the bare privilege of not being chained, bought and sold, branded and scourged? If this be all, then freedom is a bitter mockery, a cruel delusion, and it may well be questioned whether slavery were not better.

"But liberty is no negation. It is a substantive, tangible reality. It is the realization of those imperishable truths of the Declaration 'that all men are created equal,' that the sanction of all just government is 'the consent of the governed.' Can these truths be realized until each man has a right to be heard on all matters relating to himself? . . . We have passed the Red Sea of slaughter; our garments are yet wet with its crimson spray. We have crossed the fearful wilderness of war, and have left our four hundred thousand heroes to sleep beside the dead enemies of the Republic. We have heard the voice of God, amid the thunders of battle,

commanding us to wash our hands of iniquity, to 'proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.' When we spurned his counsels we were defeated, and the gulfs of ruin yawned before us. When we obeyed his voice, he gave us victory. And now, at last, we have reached the confines of the wilderness. Before us is the land of promise, the land of hope, the land of peace, filled with possibilities of greatness and glory too vast for the grasp of the imagination. Are we worthy to enter it? On what condition may it be ours to enjoy and transmit to our children's children? Let us pause and make deliberate and solemn preparation.

"Let us as representatives of the people, whose servants we are, bear in advance the sacred ark of republican liberty, with its tables of the law inscribed with the irreversible guarantees of liberty. Let us here build a monument, on which shall be written not only the curses of the law against treason, disloyalty, and oppression, but also an everlasting covenant of peace and blessing with loyalty, liberty, and obedience, and all the people will say Amen!"

When the subject of confiscation was brought up, General Garfield spoke at length upon it, and in the course of his remarks, related this leaf from his army experience :

"I would have no man there, like one from my own State, who came to the army before the great struggle in Georgia, and gave us his views of peace. He came as the friend of Vallandigham, the man for whom the gentleman on the other side of the House from my State worked and voted. We were on the eve of a great battle, I said to

him, 'You wish to make Mr. Vallandigham governor of Ohio. Why?' 'Because, in the first place,' using the language of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Fernando Wood), 'you cannot subjugate the South, and we propose to withdraw without trying it longer. In the next place, we will have nothing to do with this abolition war, nor will we give a man or a dollar for its support,' (Remember, gentlemen, what occurred in regard to the conscription bill this morning). 'To-morrow,' I continued, 'we may be engaged in a death struggle with the rebel army that confronts us, and is daily increasing. Where is the sympathy of your party? Do you want us beaten, or Bragg beaten?' He answered that they had no interest in fighting; that they did not believe in fighting.

"Mr. Noble.—A question right here.

"Mr. Garfield.—I cannot yield; I have no time. You can hear his name, if you wish. He was the agent sent by the copperhead secretary of state to distribute election blanks to the army of the Cumberland. His name was Griffiths.

"Mr. Noble.—A single question.

"Mr. Garfield.—I have no time to spare.

"Mr. Noble.—I want to ask the gentleman if he knows that Mr. Griffiths has made a question of veracity with him by a positive denial of the alleged conversation, published in the Cincinnati *Enquirer*.

"Mr. Garfield.—No virtuous denials in the Cincinnati *Enquirer* can alter the facts of this conversation, which was heard by a dozen officers.

"I asked him further, 'How would it affect your

party if we should crush the rebels in this battle and utterly destroy them?' 'We would probably lose votes by it.' 'How would it affect your party if we should be beaten?' 'It would probably help us in votes.'

"That, gentlemen, is the kind of support the army is receiving in what should be the house of its friends. That, gentlemen, is the kind of support these men are inclined to give this country and its army in this terrible struggle. I hasten to make honorable exceptions. I know there are honorable gentlemen on the other side who do not belong to that category, and I am proud to acknowledge them as my friends. I am sure they do not sympathize with these efforts, whose tendency is to pull down the fabric of our government, by aiding their friends over the border to do it. *Their friends*, I say, for when the Ohio election was about coming off, in the army at Chattanooga, there was more anxiety in the rebel camp than in our own. The pickets had talked face to face, and made daily inquiries how the election in Ohio was going. And at midnight of the 13th of October, when the telegraphic news was flashed down to us, and it was announced to the army that the Union had sixty thousand majority in Ohio, there arose a shout from every tent along the line on that rainy midnight, which rent the skies with jubilees, and sent despair to the hearts of those who were 'waiting and watching across the border.' It told them that their colleagues, their sympathizers, their friends, I had almost said their emissaries at the North, had failed to sustain themselves in turning the tide against the Union and its army. And from that hour, but not till that hour, the army felt safe from the enemy behind it.

"Thanks to the 13th of October. It told thirteen of my colleagues that they had no constituencies."

General Garfield was an earnest advocate of the policy of providing for the negroes by the Government. He favored a wise and careful guardianship until they were able to care for themselves. In one of his speeches he said :

"I cannot forget that less than five years ago I received an order from my superior officer in the army, commanding me to search my camp for a fugitive slave, and, if found, to deliver him up to a Kentucky captain, who claimed him as his property ; and I had the honor to be, perhaps, the first officer in the army who peremptorily refused to obey such an order. We were then trying to save the Union without hurting slavery. I remember, sir, that when we undertook to agitate in the army the question of putting arms into the hands of the slaves, it was said, 'Such a step will be fatal ; it will alienate half our army, and lose us Kentucky.' By and by, when our necessities were imperious, we ventured to let the negroes dig in our trenches, but it would not do to put muskets in their hands. We ventured to let a negro drive a mule team, but it would not do to have a white man or a mulatto just in front of him or behind him ; all must be negroes in that train ; you must not disgrace a white soldier by putting him in such company. 'By and by,' some one said, 'Rebel guerillas may capture the mules ; so, for the sake of the mules, let us put a few muskets in the wagons and let the negroes shoot the guerillas if they come.' So, for the sake of the mules we enlarged the limits of liberty a little. [Laughter.] By and by we al-

lowed the negroes to build fortifications, and armed them to save the earthworks they had made—not to do justice to the negro, but to protect the earth he had thrown up. By and by we said in this hall that we would arm the negroes, but they must not be called soldiers, nor wear the national uniform, for that would degrade white soldiers. By and by we said, ‘Let them wear the uniform, but they must not receive the pay of soldiers.’ For six months we did not pay them enough to feed and clothe them; and their shattered regiments came home from South Carolina in debt to the Government for the clothes they wore. It took us two years to reach a point where we were willing to do the most meager justice to the black man, and to recognize the truth that,

‘A man’s a man for a’ that.’”

The incident to which General Garfield referred in the first part of the above remarks is related as follows by an officer of General Sherman’s staff:

“One day I noticed a fugitive slave come rushing into camp with a bloody head, and apparently frightened almost to death. He had only passed my tent a moment when a regular bully of a fellow came riding up, and, with a volley of oaths, began to ask after his ‘nigger.’

“General Garfield was not present, and he passed on to the division commander. This division commander was a sympathizer with the theory that fugitives should be returned to their masters, and that the Union soldiers should be made the instruments for returning them. He accordingly wrote a mandatory order to General Garfield, in whose command the darky was supposed to be

hiding, telling him to hunt out and deliver over the property of the outraged citizen.

"I stated the case as fully as I could to General Garfield before handing him the order, but did not color my statement in any way. He took the order, and deliberately wrote on it the following indorsement :

" 'I respectfully, but positively, decline to allow my command to search for, or deliver up, any fugitive slaves. I conceive that they are here for quite another purpose. The command is open, and no obstacles will be placed in the way of the search.' "

"I read the indorsement, and was frightened. I expected that, if returned, the result would be that the general would be court-martialled. I told him my fears. He simply replied :

" 'The matter may as well be tested first as last. Right is right, and I do not propose to mince matters at all. My soldiers are here for far other purposes than hunting and returning fugitive slaves.' "

During the session a resolution was offered tendering the thanks of Congress to General George H. Thomas, for his conduct at the battle of Chickamauga, and reflecting, as General Garfield thought, unjustly upon his old chief, General Rosecrans. This brought Garfield to his feet, and in a brilliant and earnest speech he eulogized General Rosecrans, while at the same time he did full justice to General Thomas.

During the session it was proposed to grant the sanction of the Government of the United States to the construction of a new railway line between New York and Philadelphia. This was opposed on the ground that the

State of New Jersey had granted a monopoly of the railroad traffic across her limits between those points to the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company, and that the proposed action of Congress would be an unwarrantable interference with the sovereign authority of that State. Upon this subject General Garfield spoke with great eloquence, and his speech was generally regarded as one of the most convincing arguments against State sovereignty ever delivered in Congress. He said :

“ Mr. Coleridge somewhere says that abstract definitions have done more harm in the world than plague and famine and war. I believe it. I believe that no man will ever be able to chronicle all the evils that have resulted to this nation from the abuse of the words ‘sovereign’ and ‘sovereignty.’ What is this thing called ‘State sovereignty?’ Nothing more false was ever uttered in the halls of legislation than that any State of this Union is sovereign. Consult the elementary text-books of law, and refresh your recollection of the definition of ‘sovereignty.’ Speaking of the sovereignty of nations, Blackstone says :

“ ‘However they began, by what right soever they subsist, there is and must be in all of them a supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in which the *jura summi imperii* or rights of sovereignty reside.’

“ Do these elements belong to any State of this Republic? Sovereignty has the right to declare war. Can New Jersey declare war? It has the right to conclude peace. Can New Jersey conclude peace? Sovereignty has the right to coin money. If the Legislature of New Jersey should authorize and command one of its citizens

to coin a half-dollar, that man, if he made it, though it should be of solid silver, would be locked up in a felon's cell for the crime of counterfeiting the coin of the real sovereign. A sovereign has the right to make treaties with foreign nations. Has New Jersey the right to make treaties? Sovereignty is clothed with the right to regulate commerce with foreign states. New Jersey has no such right. Sovereignty has the right to put ships in commission upon the high seas. Should a ship set sail under the authority of New Jersey it would be seized as a smuggler, forfeited and sold. Sovereignty has a flag. But, thank God, New Jersey has no flag; Ohio has no flag. No loyal State fights under the 'lone star,' the 'rattlesnake,' or the 'palmetto tree.' No loyal State of this Union has any flag but 'the banner of beauty and of glory,' the flag of the Union. These are the indispensable elements of sovereignty. New Jersey has not one of them. The term cannot be applied to the separate States, save in a very limited and restricted sense, referring mainly to municipal and police regulations. The rights of the States should be jealously guarded and defended. But to claim that sovereignty in its full sense and meaning belongs to the States is nothing better than rankest treason. Look again at this document of the Governor of New Jersey. He tells you that the STATES entered into the '*national compact!*' National compact! I had supposed that no governor of a loyal State would parade this dogma of nullification and secession which was killed and buried by Webster on the 16th of February, 1833.

"There was no such thing as a sovereign State mak-

ing a compact called a constitution. The very language of the Constitution is decisive: 'We, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution. The States did not make a compact to be broken when any one pleased, but the people *ordained* and *established* the Constitution of a sovereign Republic; and woe be to any corporation or State that raises its hand against the majesty and power of this great nation.'

General Garfield is an active and ardent worker in the temperance cause. About this time he gave a practical evidence of his devotion to its principles, which is thus related by Mr. H. L. Baker. He states that it was told to him by a man who lived almost next door to General Garfield, in Painesville, Ohio, for ten years, and during that time the events spoken of occurred.

"It was in 1865 that the temperance people of Painesville were a good deal worked up over a beer brewery running full blast in their midst. They held meeting after meeting, and discussed all sorts of plans for getting rid of the obnoxious industry, but all to no avail as far as any practical outcome was concerned.

"During that time General Garfield returned home, and attended the next temperance meeting as an earnest, enthusiastic temperance man. The same old subject of the brewery came up. After listening a few minutes, the general rose up and said:

"'Gentlemen, it is the easiest thing in the world to dispose of that brewery. I will agree to do it in one hour.'

"The announcement took them all by surprise, of course. Suppress in one hour the nuisance they had se

long bothered their heads over? Do in one hour what they failed to do in six months? It seemed impossible. But he soon showed them that he meant business.

“He went over to the brewery, and in less than an hour he had purchased the whole property and paid cash, some \$10,000, I believe. He destroyed all the manufactured liquor, and all the exclusive brewing machinery. What disposal to make of the property was now the question. It did not lie idle long, however.

“The next fall he converted the building and machinery into a large cider-mill, and made hundreds of barrels of cider. Not one drop of cider would he sell or give away, for he was too strict a temperance man to think it right to drink even cider; but every barrel of it he kept till it had become cider vinegar, and then sold it.

“The good people of the town were glad to learn that, after the property proved to be a good investment, and the general made it pay him well. After using the building four or five years he sold it to other parties, and moved upon his farm at Mentor, Lake County, Ohio.

“This is a small thing, to be sure; but it shows that General Garfield’s principles are not a dead letter, but are real, live matters, which he is ready to put into practice in his daily life.”

Throughout the reconstruction period and the quarrel between Congress and President Johnson, General Garfield warmly championed the cause of Congress against the President. He made a good record on the Committee of Ways and Means, and was in favor of a moderate protective tariff and a steady reduction of public expenditures and taxation.

Mr. Garfield's course with regard to a protective tariff is thus summed up by *The Iron and Steel Bulletin*, one of the leading protectionist journals of the United States:

“General Garfield's tariff record having been made a subject of discussion since his nomination for the Presidency, it is both just and proper that we should state that the protectionists of the country, who have kept watch over tariff legislation during the past twenty years, and who have assisted to shape and maintain the present tariff, are perfectly satisfied with his tariff votes and speeches. They and all other protectionists have indeed abundant reason to be thankful to him for valuable assistance rendered to the cause of industry when it was in serious peril from free-trade attacks. His votes and speeches have been uniformly and consistently in favor of the protective policy. His first tariff speech in Congress was made in 1866. In this speech he carefully defined his position on the question of protection as follows:

“‘I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufactures can fairly compete with the foreign product, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy a monopoly of the trade, and regulate the price as they please.’ This is my doctrine of protection. If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily, we shall, year by year, approach more nearly to the basis of free trade, because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection that leads to ultimate free trade. I am for that

free trade which can only be achieved through a reasonable protection.'

"There was nothing in this declaration to which protectionists could fairly object. We are exporting many products of American workshops and factories to-day because protection has made their production and exportation possible. Great Britain was able to establish and maintain free trade only after centuries of the most vigorous protection of all her industries. This country is simply copying her wise example, and in the extract we have quoted, General Garfield distinctly declares his approval of it.

"In his next speech, delivered in 1870, upon General Schenck's tariff bill, which provoked a long and bitter controversy, General Garfield advised the protectionists of the House to assent to a moderate reduction of the war duties which were then in force, for the reason that they were higher than was necessary for the protection of our industries, and, being so, they gave occasion for unfriendly criticism of the protective policy, from which it should be relieved. He said :

"After studying the whole subject as carefully as I am able, I am firmly of the opinion that the wisest thing that the protectionists in this House can do, is to unite in a moderate reduction of duties on imported articles. He is not a faithful representative who merely votes for the highest rate proposed in order to show on the record that he voted for the highest figure, and therefore is a sound protectionist. He is the wisest man who sees the tides and currents of public opinion, and uses his best efforts to protect the industry of the people against sudden col

lapses and sudden changes. Now, if I do not misunderstand the signs of the times, unless we do this ourselves, prudently and wisely, we shall before long be compelled to submit to a violent reduction, made rudely and without discrimination, which will shock, if not shatter, all our protected industries.

“‘The great want of industry is a stable policy; and it is a significant comment on the character of our legislation that Congress has become a terror to the business men of the country. This very day the great industries of the nation are standing still, half paralyzed at the uncertainty which hangs over our proceedings here. A distinguished citizen of my own district has lately written to me this significant sentence: ‘If the laws of God and nature were as vascillating and uncertain as the laws of Congress in regard to the business of its people, the universe would soon fall into chaos.’

“‘Examining thus the possibilities of the situation, I believe that the true course for the friends of protection to pursue is to reduce the rates on imports whenever we can justly and safely do so; and, accepting neither of the extreme doctrines urged on this floor, endeavor to establish a stable policy that will commend itself to all patriotic and thoughtful people.’

“General Schenck’s bill passed the House June 6, 1870, General Garfield voting for it in company with all the protectionists in that body. It passed the Senate during the same month, such leading protectionists as Senators Howe, Scott, Morrill, of Vermont, Sherman, and Wilson voting for it. The bill reduced the duties on a long list of articles—pig iron, for instance, from \$9 to

\$7—but it was a triumph of the protective policy, and a disastrous defeat of the free traders and revenue reformers, who had favored still lower duties. It embodied provisions that are retained in the existing tariff, with which all protectionists are entirely satisfied.

In 1872, two years after the passage of General Schenck's bill, a bill, to reduce duties on imports and to reduce internal taxes, was reported to the House of Representatives by Mr. Dawes, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and after discussion it passed by a large majority, such prominent protectionists as Dawes, Frye, Foster, Frank W. Palmer, Ellis H. Roberts, William A. Wheeler, and George F. Hoar voting for it. General Garfield voted for it. Judge Kelley and sixty other protectionists voted against it. It became a law, passing the Senate by a two-thirds vote, such leading protectionists as Ferry, Howe, the two Morrills, Morton, Sherman, and Wilson supporting it. Protectionists, as will be seen, were not united upon the merits of this bill, which, among other provisions, reduced the duty on many iron and steel products ten per cent., but there was no conflict of principle involved in their differences—nothing but a question of expediency.

In 1875, three years after the passage of the bill just referred to, Mr. Dawes, still chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, reported a bill to farther protect the sinking fund and to provide the exigencies of the Government, which provided among other things for the restoration of the ten per cent. which had been taken from the duties on iron and steel by the act of 1872. This bill passed the House by a close vote, General Garfield vot-

ing for it, as did nearly every protectionist in the House. The bill passed the Senate and became a law, the vote being very close—yeas thirty, nays twenty-nine. The protectionists in the Senate were almost unanimously in favor of it. Mr. Sherman made a strong speech against it, and Mr. Scott and Mr. Frelinghuysen very ably supported it. Mr. Sherman voted against it. The passage of this bill gave great encouragement to our prostrated iron and steel industries.

“The next tariff measure that came before Congress was the bill of Mr. Morrison, which was presented in the House in 1876, but was so vigorously opposed that it never reached the dignity of a square vote upon its merits. Two years afterwards Mr. Wood undertook the preparation of a tariff bill which greatly reduced duties on most articles of foreign manufacture, and which he confidently hoped might become a law. This bill possessed more vitality than that of Mr. Morrison, and it was with great difficulty that the friends of protection were able to secure its defeat. In the early as well as in the later stages of the struggle there was no uncertainty about the position of General Garfield; he was against the bill. On the 4th of June he delivered an elaborate speech against it in Committee of the Whole, in the course of which he said:

“‘I would have the duty so adjusted that every great American industry can fairly live and make fair profits. The chief charge I make against this bill is that it seeks to cripple the protective features of the law.’

“He further said, in concluding his speech:

“‘A bill so radical in its character, so dangerous to

our business prosperity, would work infinite mischief at this time, when the country is just recovering itself from a long period of depression and getting again upon solid ground, just coming up out of the wild sea of panic and distress which has tossed up so long.

“‘Let it be remembered that twenty-two per cent. of all the laboring people of this country are artisans engaged in manufactures. Their culture has been fostered by our tariff laws. It is their pursuits and the skill which they have developed that produced the glory of our Centennial Exhibition. To them the country owes the splendor of the position it holds before the world more than to any other equal number of our citizens. If this bill becomes a law, it strikes down their occupation and throws into the keenest distress the brightest and best elements of our population.

“‘When the first paragraph has been read, I will propose to strike out the enacting clause. If the committee will do that, we can kill the bill to-day.’

“On the day following the delivery of General Garfield’s speech, his suggestion to strike out the enacting clause was carried into effect, upon motion of Mr. Conger, and the bill was killed—yeas 134, nays 121. The majority against the bill was only 13.

“During the recent session of Congress a vigorous effort was made to break down the tariff by piecemeal legislation. ‘Divide and conquer’ was the motto of the free traders. They were defeated in every effort to reduce duties, and in every instance they encountered General Garfield’s opposition. Iron and steel manufacturers have good cause to remember his vote in the

Ways and Means Committee last March, on the bill of Mr. Covert to reduce the duty on steel rails. General Garfield voted with Judge Kelley and Messrs. Conger, Frye, Felton, Gibson, and Phelps against any reduction, and that was the end of Mr. Covert's bill—the vote being seven against to six in favor of it. Had the bill prevailed, the entire line of duties on iron and steel and other manufactures would have been seriously endangered.

“Such is General Garfield's tariff record, and as we have already stated, it is entirely satisfactory to protectionists. He has been charged with being a member of the British free trade Cobden Club, but he has repeatedly declared over his own signature that the use of his name by the Cobden Club was wholly unauthorized by him, and that its free trade doctrines did not meet with his approval. If the club thought, by the conferring of an empty compliment, to entrap him into an expression of sympathy with its philosophy of selfishness and greed, it failed signally.

“General Garfield is a candidate for the Presidency. With that we have nothing to do. Our readers will vote for or against him as they please. But General Garfield has rendered great service to the cause of home industry during his public career, and we would have been untrue to ourselves and to every individual member of this association if we had not testified as we have done to the excellence and fulness of that service, now that his tariff record has been misrepresented. American iron and steel manufacturers have found him a wise friend in time of need, and we say so gratefully.”

In 1866 General Garfield was again a candidate for the House of Representatives. A few of his constituents living in the Mahoning Valley, an iron producing district, opposed his nomination on the ground that he did not favor as high a tariff on iron as they wanted. The Convention, however, was overwhelmingly on his side, and he was nominated with enthusiasm, and elected by a majority of 10,000 votes. At the meeting of Congress General Garfield was appointed by the Speaker of the House Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. In this position he rendered good service to the country and to his party. His committee was kept busy remodelling the regular army to suit the altered needs of the country, and looking after the demands of the discharged soldiers for pay and bounty, of which many had been deprived by the red tape decisions of the accounting officers of the Government.

In 1868 Gen. Garfield was opposed in the nominating convention of his district by Darius Caldwell, of Ash-tabula, who secured forty votes. General Garfield was, however, nominated by a handsome majority, and elected as usual by the people at the polls. He continued to serve on the Military Committee of the House, adding to his reputation and rendering good service to the country.

In 1870 General Garfield was again elected to Congress, this time without opposition. In 1872 a few blank ballots were cast in the convention, and the Liberal Republicans ran a candidate in opposition to him at the polls, but he was elected by his usual triumphant majority.

At the meeting of the forty-second Congress in 1871,

General Garfield was appointed by the Speaker, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, and held this position until the elections of 1874 gave the Democrats control of the House. In this important position he largely reduced the expenditures of the Government, and thoroughly reformed the system of estimates and appropriations, providing for closer accountability on the part of those who spend the public money, and a clear knowledge, on the part of those who vote it, of what it is used for.

A fair idea of the manner in which General Garfield carried out the work of his committee may be gained from the following. The Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill for 1872 was passed by the House and sent to the Senate, where several amendments were tacked on to it. These amendments did not all meet the approval of General Garfield, and on the 8th of June, 1872, he rose in the House, as Chairman of the Appropriation Committee, and said :

“ I ask the House to allow me to submit the proposition to non-concur in all the amendments of the Senate to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, and to accede to the request of the Senate for a Committee of Conference.”

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, said : “ I hope the suggestion of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations (Mr. Garfield) will be accepted. By accepting it the minority will lose none of their privileges, for they will have the same right to make dilatory motions after the report of the Committee of Conference comes before the House that they now have.”

Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, said : “ This side of the

House will, I have no doubt, vote unanimously for the bill as it came from the Senate, with the exception of the bayonet clause. If the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield) will offer a substitute containing every proposition of the Senate except that, we will assent to it."

Mr. Garfield said, "If the 'bayonet clause,' as the gentleman terms it, were off, and all the other amendments of the Senate were retained, I should be compelled to vote against the bill, because there are appropriations to the amount of more than a million and a half of dollars which have been put on by the Senate, to which, as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, I can never consent. . . . I ask the gentlemen to allow me to take the sense of the House on my proposition."

The question was taken, and (two-thirds not voting in favor thereof) it was decided in the negative.

After some further debate, Mr. Garfield said: "I have sent a resolution to the desk, which I ask to be read."

The clerk then read as follows :

"*Resolved*, That the House non-concur in the amendments of the Senate to the House Bill No. 2705, being the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, and agree to a conference thereon; and that upon the appointment of such committee, the House do take a recess until eight o'clock on Monday morning."

The question being put, the resolution was adopted.

The Chair announces the appointment of Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, Mr. Palmer, of Iowa, and Mr. Niblack of Indiana, as the conferees on the part of the House, on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill H. R. No. 2705.

On the 10th of June, Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, said: "I rise to make a privileged report."

The clerk read the report of the Committee of Conference on the Civil Sundry Appropriation Bill.

After some remarks by Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, in opposition to the report, Mr. Garfield said:

"On the merits of the amendment now in debate by itself considered, I will not now speak. No man on this floor regrets more than I do that the House was brought to a dead-lock on a question of this sort appended to a general appropriation bill. But there is another phase of the subject which rises altogether above that amendment or any other amendment that can be brought into this House. To discuss that greater question I must call the attention of members to the parliamentary history of this bill. It is one of the twelve great appropriation bills necessary for carrying on the Government. After being considered forty days in the Committee of Appropriations, after being elaborately debated in this House, it went to the Senate, and, after having there encountered storm and tempest of no ordinary character, it came back to the House with such amendments as the Senate saw fit to add. Again in the House, it was a bill in order under the rules of parliamentary law, for our rules do not allow us to rule as out of order an amendment added by the Senate. The bill, then, being in order, there were but five courses of action open to the Houses in the ordinary processes of legislation. The first was to refer it back to the Committee on Appropriations, to be considered and brought back subject to the order of the House. The second was, we might have referred it to the Committee of the Whole

on the state of the Union, where it would have been open to debate and amendment on every one of the ninety-three amendments, and then to be reported back to the House to await the further order of this body. A third course was, that we should proceed to consider it in open House under the five minutes' rule, subject to amendments and debate. A fourth plan was to non-concur in all the Senate amendments and send the bill to a committee of conference, to be again brought back into the House. There was a fifth plan, to concur in all the Senate amendments, and then send the bill to the President for his approval.

"Now, there is no other ordinary course to be taken with an appropriation bill, and I call the attention of the House to the fact that I and my associates on the Committee on Appropriations tried again and again in the House each and all of these five ordinary courses of procedure, and again and again did the minority of this House refuse to allow the House to take either of these courses until late at night of Saturday, and after a twelve hours' session, and then only on condition that the non-concurrence and reference to a conference committee should be coupled with a recess which should bring us within four hours of the final adjournment of Congress. In other words, the minority have for days refused to allow the usual legislative processes to be employed in reference to a great and necessary public measure; they have refused to allow it to be debated or considered except upon terms of their own dictation wholly beyond the ordinary range of parliamentary order.

"Mr. Speaker, a question has, therefore, arisen, in its importance far above any item in this bill, and it is simply

this : shall the majority of the members of this House have the right to consider and act upon a great appropriation bill in the mode provided in the rules ? The moment a minority, however large, deny that proposition, that moment we are in the midst of a parliamentary revolution, and legislation of any sort is impossible for evermore until that position be utterly abandoned. In saying this I do not fail to recognize the utmost right of the minority to make dilatory motions for any and all legitimate purposes. I recognize that right whenever the minority is being oppressed by any parliamentary proceeding. If, for instance, we should insist that a bill should be passed without being read, I would filibuster as long as any man here to prevent it, if it were a bill that I did not understand or approve.

“Mr. Eldredge, of Wisconsin, said: I want to ask a question on this particular point, as to what was said by him to gentlemen on this side of the House, and to me personally.

“Mr. Garfield.—When we went into the conference committee, we sat two hours on Saturday night, running our session into midnight.

“We met on Sunday, and sat eight hours continuously. At the end of six hours we had finished, to the satisfaction of the conferees, every other item of disagreement between the two Houses. When we reached the tenth amendment, the one in dispute, the Senate conferees informed us that they could make no report that did not treat of that subject in it ; that the report must be one and a whole. The committee on the part of the House was then compelled to adopt one of two courses,

either at eight o'clock on Monday morning, four hours before the time fixed for final adjournment, bring back a report that they had made no progress whatever, that nothing was agreed to, nothing settled, thus making it wholly impossible to reach an adjustment before twelve o'clock, or to bring in a report concurring in something.

"After mature deliberation, we thought it to be our duty to bring in a report, and in order to do that we proposed a substitute to the Senate's tenth amendment. That substitute consists, in the main, of the enforcement bill sent to the House by the Senate a few weeks since; but there are two or three important modifications put on that at the suggestion of the House conferees.

"The amendment thus guarded is clearly within the provisions of the Constitution, which empower Congress to regulate the time, place, and manner of holding elections for the representatives in Congress. Now, the Committee of Conference having brought in a report under the rules, I do now insist, and shall continue to demand, that the bill before the House shall be acted on; and against all factions and revolutionary resistance I propose to stand, if need be, until December next, until this appropriation bill shall be considered, shall be voted on, voted up or voted down.

"And now, once for all, I say to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Eldredge), and to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Kelley), that I have said no word to them or to any man inconsistent with the declarations I have made in these remarks. I challenge any man to the proof, if he venture to join the issue.

"After some debate, Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania,

moved to recommit the report to the committee, and his motion was sustained by the House, by a vote of yeas 99, nays 79, 62 members not voting.

“Subsequently, Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, said: Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit the following report from the the Committee of Conference.

“The clerk read as follows:

“The Committee of Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments to the bill (H. R. No. 2705) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1873, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have been unable to agree.

JAMES A. GARFIELD,

FRANK W. PALMER,

WM. E. NIBLACK,

Managers on the part of the House.

CORNELIUS COLE,

GEO. F. EDMUNDS,

JOHN W. STEVENSON.

Managers on the part of the Senate.

“Mr. Garfield, of Ohio.—The Senate originally asked for a committee of conference in reference to the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on this bill, and I suppose they will make known their wishes. I do not know but the House might hasten business by ordering a new conference. I move the appointment of a new Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill; and on that motion I demand the previous question

“The motion of Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, was agreed to.

“The Speaker.—The chair appoints the same conferees as managers on the part of the House.

“Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, soon after submitted a privileged report, and said : In explanation of the report, I desire to state to the House that the main body of the report is the same as was presented before. Three important changes were made, in view of additional facts brought before the Conference Committee as to the amount of the sums appropriated. Beyond those three changes every word is the same, except what relates to the tenth amendment, the matter in contest between the two Houses.

“There are but three changes made in that tenth amendment. We strike out the words ‘this act or,’ in the fortieth line of the print which the gentlemen have before them. The second change is the forty-third line, where we strike out the words ‘he resides,’ and insert in lieu thereof the words ‘his duties are to be performed.’ The third, and the one of chief importance, is the addition of a proviso at the end of line sixty-two, in these words :

“*And provided further,* That the supervisors herein provided for shall have no power or authority to make arrests or to perform other duties than to be in the immediate presence of the officers holding the election, and to witness all their proceedings, including the counting of the votes, and the making of a return thereof.’

“The effect of this is that the supervisors authorized by this act stand by and witness the proceedings of the election, and have the official right to stand by ;

so that if frauds are being perpetrated, the Government of the United States may have as witnesses a member of the Democratic party, and one of the Republican party, to the facts in the case.

“Mr. Eldredge.—I desire to ask the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations if the words ‘guarded and inspected’ are not retained in the bill.

“Mr. Garfield.—No, sir. It is provided that when ten citizens in any county or parish in any Congressional district shall apply to the judge of the district in which such county or parish is situated, ‘to have said registration or election both guarded and scrutinized.’

“Mr. Eldredge.—Yes, those are the words, ‘guarded and scrutinized.’

“Mr. Garfield.—The persons applying express their wish to have the elections guarded and scrutinized. But the powers of the persons appointed for that purpose are in terms restricted by the proviso I have read.

“Mr. Eldredge.—They are to guard and scrutinize the election.

“Mr. Garfield.—The gentleman is in error. The words ‘guarded and scrutinized’ apply only to the form of application made to the judge. But those words do not apply at all to the powers of the persons appointed. Their powers are defined and limited by the strong language of the proviso which I have just read. They are thus made mere witnesses of all the transactions of the election.

“Mr. Kerr, of Indiana, said: Before my colleague (Mr. Niblack) takes the floor, I want to ask a question, in order to remove any doubt upon the mind of any member

of the House. I desire to know of the Chairman of the Committee of Appropriations whether he understands that there is anything in the language of this amendment that touches the matter of qualifications of electors.

“Mr. Garfield.—I understand, on the contrary, that there is nothing that can touch or change the qualifications of electors now provided by law.

“Mr. Ritchie, of Maryland, said: In the State of Maryland the judges of the election have no discretion as to the qualifications of voters. They are controlled by the registration list; in fact, they are merely recording officers. Now, I ask the gentlemen what would be the relation of the supervisors contemplated by this amendment to our registration and elections?

“Mr. Garfield.—That of simply standing by and seeing the work done, without any other power than to witness it from beginning to end.

“Mr. Eldredge.—Gentlemen who have not surrendered their opposition on this question have not yet had an opportunity to speak. None of us have had that opportunity who feel that we cannot surrender our opposition as long as we have the power to resist this measure. I ask the gentleman to yield to me for two or three minutes.

“Mr. Garfield.—Gentlemen all around me insist that I shall call the previous question. I cannot yield farther.

“Mr. Holman, of Indiana, said: This is the most fatal measure ever brought into this Congress.

“Mr. Haldeman, of Pennsylvania, said: We are not going to yield.

“Mr. Eldredge.—It is an unconstitutional bill.

“Mr. Holman.—It is most infamous in its character.

“Mr. Garfield.—I now move that the rules be suspended, and that the House proceed to take an immediate vote, without dilatory motions, upon agreeing to the report of the Committee of Conference.

“The question was put on the motion of Mr. Garfield to suspend the rules; and there were—yeas 122, nays 23.

“So, two-thirds voting in favor thereof, the rules were suspended.

“The Speaker.—The House has directed that it now vote by yeas and nays upon this question. Will the House agree to the report of the Committee of Conference on the disagreements of the Senate to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill?

“The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative, as follows: yeas 102, nays 79; not voting, 59.

“So the report of the Committee of Conference was agreed to.”

On the 24th of February, 1873, the Appropriation Bill being under consideration, Mr. Butler, of Massachusetts, offered an amendment increasing the salaries paid to the President and Vice-President of the United States, the heads of departments, and the members of Congress. This measure did not meet with Mr. Garfield's approval, and at the close of Mr. Butler's remarks, he said:

“I desire to answer some of the points which have been made in support of this amendment. Some of the salaries referred to in the amendment, I doubt not, are too low—perhaps all of them. But I feel it to be my duty

to call the attention of the committee to the movement of salaries in the last ten years. I hold in my hand a statement of salaries other than legislative, as they were paid in 1860. The total amount of the salaries of officers of this government, in the several executive departments here in Washington in 1860, was \$809,864.67. The war so greatly increased our civil service, that now, in the year just closed, in the calendar year 1872, the total for the same classes of salaries with the increase of bureaus that have been put on the various departments, was \$3,598,878.35, being an increase of \$2,789,113.68.

“Now the fact that the salaries of the officers of the Government other than legislative, have been thus increased in the twelve years, is a fact that the House ought to know. And when it is proposed to increase the salaries by a sum I think somewhere in the neighborhood of a million and a half or two millions of dollars in one amendment, I feel it my duty to show them what the total of the salaries will be. I, of course, believe that the propositions in this amendment ought to be separated. Some of them gentlemen ought doubtless to vote for. But to pass that amendment in the lump, as laid before the committee now, I do not think it just, I do not think it equitable, and I do not think the House will do it; it ought not to be done.”

Notwithstanding General Garfield's opposition, the bill passed the House, and was sent to the Senate, where it was amended. The amendments were not satisfactory to the House, and a Committee of Conference was appointed. It resulted in the presentation of a bill by General Garfield, making a large increase in the salaries of the

Executive officers of the Government and members of Congress. On the 3d of March, 1873, in presenting this bill, General Garfield said :

“Mr. Speaker, if I can have the attention of the House, I will explain the points embraced in this report, in reference to the salaries of the President, Vice-President, Cabinet officers, members of the Supreme Court, and members of the two Houses of Congress. The amendment known as the Butler Amendment was agreed to by the Senate in everything except the provision in reference to the salaries of members of Congress. I wish to state in a few words the condition of that question in the conference. In the first place the Senate voted directly on the proposition to strike out the provision increasing the salary of members of Congress, and by a large vote refused to strike it out. The Senate conferees insisted that the \$6,500. clause, cutting off mileage, actually reduced the pay of some eighteen members of the Senate. They refused, therefore, to submit to an amendment which cut down the salary of so many senators. The Senate conferees were unanimous in fixing the salary at \$7,500, and cutting off all allowances except actual individual travelling expenses of a member from his home to Washington and back once a session, and cutting off all other allowances of every kind. That proposition was agreed to by a majority of the conferees on the part of the House. I was opposed to the increase in conference as I have been opposed to it in the discussion and in my votes here, but my associate conferees were in favor of the Senate amendment, and I was compelled to choose between signing the report and running the risk of bring-

ing on an extra session of Congress. I have signed the report, and I present it as it is, and ask the House to act on it in accordance with their best judgment.

“Mr. Hibbard, of New Hampshire, said: I desire to ask the gentleman how much plunder will be taken from the treasury if this raising of salaries is adopted?

“Mr. Garfield.—I am glad the gentleman has asked me that question. The report presented here, taking into account the changes made with reference to the salaries of members and officers of both Houses and other increases of salaries in this bill, will, according to the best estimate I have been able to make, involve an annual increase of about three-quarters of a million of dollars.

“Mr. Hibbard.—How much for the present Congress?

“Mr. Garfield.—For the present Congress it involves an additional expenditure of about one and a quarter million. I think the House ought to know all the facts.”

On the final passage of the bill Gen. Garfield voted for it, for the same reasons that induced him to sustain the report of the committee of conference. He was sharply criticised for his course, for the measure proved one of the most objectionable to the country ever adopted by Congress. While satisfied of the propriety of his conduct, General Garfield was yet sensitive to the criticisms upon him. He wrote to a friend as follows in relation to his conduct:

“HIRAM, Ohio, April 21, 1873.

“Dear Friend :—Your kind and welcome letter of the 11th instant came duly to hand, for which I thank you. When I went into the army I did so expecting to follow the path of duty, whether it led me to life or death. In

entering Congress I undertook to follow the path of duty there, whether it led to political life or political death. I have cast many thousands of votes during my ten years of service, and none with a more conscientious conviction that I was doing right than the one for which I am so much blamed. Perhaps the people will never so understand it, but I believe most of them will some day. They may think I made a mistake, and they may be right about it. But I am sure that fair-minded men, when they fully understand the case, will see that I acted from worthy motives, and tried to do my duty. I have addressed a letter to the district, which will appear in this week's paper. They will see that I did all I could to keep the salary clause off from my bill, and when that effort failed I did what I could to reduce the amount appropriated, and that by standing by the bill I saved the treasury several hundred thousand dollars.

“ In 1856, Mr. Giddings voted for a large increase of pay of members of Congress, and the pay then dated back sixteen months. It passed the House then by one majority, and Mr. Giddings' vote turned the scale. It was not a part of an appropriation bill, but stood alone on its own merits. Mr. Giddings was not censured, but was, that same fall, renominated and re-elected. They did not call him a thief nor a robber; now they call me both, when I did more than any other member to prevent the increase of salaries. I believe that, in the long run, the people will be just. As ever, your friend,

“ J. A. GARFIELD.”

By the terms of the salary bill General Garfield was

entitled to \$5,000 back pay as a member of the House. He drew the amount, but as his ideas of duty would not permit him to appropriate it to his own use, he promptly paid it back into the treasury of the United States. Shortly after the nomination of General Garfield for the Presidency, some of his political opponents declared that while he had not used his back pay for his own wants, he had made a present of it to Hiram College. With regard to this a Cleveland reporter called upon Professor B. A. Hinsdale, the President of Hiram College, and said to him :

“I understand that a story is being told in certain sections that General Garfield made a proposition to Hiram College, viz., that he would draw from the United States Treasury the \$5,000 due him by the back salary grab, and give it to the college, providing the trustees were willing to accept it. Now, President Hinsdale, what are the facts in the case concerning this?”

Mr. Hinsdale answered with considerable vehemence : “I have received several letters of inquiry concerning this matter. I have answered all inquiries with a point-blank denial. General Garfield never made any such proposition to me or to anybody else connected with Hiram College. The story is false as a whole, in all its particulars, in its inception, and in its spirit. I wrote to Mr. Davis if there was a man in Salem who professed to have been present at this fictitious presentation scene, he would please say to said man for me that there is not a word of truth in the story he is telling ; that he was never present at any such scene ; that there never was any such scene ; and that he would also tell him

that he had better find some better trade than that of slander."

The case was so clear and the proofs so convenient to produce, that General Garfield had no trouble in refuting this slander.

The first session of the forty-third Congress commenced on the 1st of December, 1873. On the 8th of December a special committee reported a bill to the House to repeal the increase of certain salaries, adopted March 3, 1873, and to restore the former rates, to wit, for members of Congress, etc. On December 9th the bill was considered.

"Mr. Wilson, of Indiana, said: Mr. Speaker, the subject now under consideration is one which has attracted much public attention. The action of the forty-second Congress, in passing the act by which the salaries of senators and representatives were increased, which it is now proposed to repeal, and especially that feature of it whereby increased pay was made to date from the beginning of the Congress, has met with the fiercest denunciation. Not only those who voted for it, but those who voted against it, yet received its benefits, have been stigmatized as thieves and robbers.

"It matters not how many years of faithful service had been devoted to the country, nor how exalted a character for integrity had been builded up, this one act has been deemed an unpardonable sin, and treated as an unmitigated criminality. While indulging in this wholesale denunciation, no one stopped to consider the circumstances under which any member happened to be placed, and which to him, and to any reasonable man, might seem to

make it his duty to vote for the measure ; no difference of opinion was permitted as to its justice ; no appeal to reason would be listened to. My distinguished friend from Ohio (Mr. Garfield), who struggled against it until, in a conference report which he had resisted to the last, it was brought before the House attached to one of the most important appropriation bills, and then, as all of us who are familiar with the facts must confidently believe (and it is but justice to him to say so here), voted for it in the conscientious discharge of his duty to the country, has fared no better than any one else."

After some lengthy remarks by other members, Mr. Garfield said :

"Mr. Speaker, there was so much to admire in the speech to which the House has just listened, that it may seem ungracious to say anything in conflict with the doctrines announced. And yet the distinguished gentleman (Mr. Stephens, of Georgia) has said some things so strikingly different from the views generally entertained by the American people, that I venture to offer a few suggestions by way of reply, while the subject is still fresh in the minds of his hearers.

"All that the gentleman said in regard to the relation of public opinion to representative men will, I presume, be cordially concurred in by those who heard him. The real leaders of the people—they who give voice to the best thoughts or aspirations of their countrymen—are immeasurably above those who consult public passion only to cater to its worst tendencies. It is a high and worthy work to study public opinion, for the purpose of learning how best to serve the public good ; but to study to learn

how best to serve ourselves is base. But it is important that we understand what we mean by public opinion. It is not an infallible standard of right, for it is sometimes wholly wrong. Its judgments are frequently revised and reversed by its own consent. But it is true that, after a full hearing, public opinion finally adjusts itself on a basis which will be practically just and true. He greatly errs who calls all the passing and changing words of the public mind the fixed and final verdict of public judgment.

“The public opinion that teaches its most valuable and impressive lessons resembles the ocean—not when lashed by the breath of the tempest—but when seen in the grandeur of its all-pervading calm. The men who shall take the dash and roar of its wild waves on the rocks as their symbol of public opinion will not only fail to learn its best lessons, but may find themselves wrecked on its breakers. But the sea in its hour of calm, when the forces that play upon it are in equipoise—when its depths are unvexed by tempests—is the grand level by which all the heights and depths of the world are measured. And so public opinion, though it may at times dash itself in fury against events and against men, will at last settle down into broad and settled calm, and will mark the level on which we gauge our political institutions, and measure the strength and wisdom of opinions and men.

“While recognizing thus, the general justness and the almost omnipotent power of public opinion in a government like ours, it is equally important that the individual man should not be the servile and unquestioning follower of its behests. We may value it as a guide,

we may accept its lessons, but we should never be its slaves.

“There is a circle of individual right within which every man's opinions are sacredly his own, even in defiance of public opinion, and which his manhood and self-respect demand that he shall never surrender. But there are public questions like that which we are to-day considering, on which the voice of public opinion has a right to be heard and considered by every representative in the national legislature.

“Now, if we were legislating for the ideal republic of Plato, I do not know that a wiser plan of compensation could be found than that proposed by the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Stephens). If we lived in a world where the highest power was the best paid, his scheme would be perfect, and his argument unanswerable. But, so far as I have studied life, exactly the reverse is the accepted rule. The things that have the highest marketable value in the world, as we find it, are not the things that stand highest in the intellectual or moral scale.

“One of the brightest and perhaps greatest men I know in this nation, a man who, perhaps, has done as much for its intellectual life as any other, told me, not many months ago, that he had made it the rule of his life to abandon any intellectual pursuit the moment it became commercially valuable; that others would utilize what he had discovered; that his field of work was above the line of commercial values; and when he brought down the great truths of science from the upper heights to the level of commercial values, a thousand

hands would be ready to take them and make them valuable in the markets of the world.

“A voice—‘Who was he?’

“Mr. Garfield.—It was Agassiz. He entered upon his great career, not for the salary it gave him, for that was meagre compared with the pay of those in the lower walks of life; but he followed the promptings of his great nature, and works for the love of the truth, and for the instruction of mankind. Something of this spirit pervaded the lives of the great men who did so much to build up and maintain our Republican institutions. And this spirit is, in my judgment, higher and worthier than that which the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Stephens) has described.

“To come immediately to the question before us, I agree with the distinguished gentleman that we should not be driven or swayed by that unjust clamor that calls men thieves who voted as they had the constitutional right to vote, and accepted a compensation which they had the legal and constitutional right to take. I join in no clamor of that sort; nor will I join in any criminations against those who used their right to act and vote differently from myself on this subject. It is idle to waste our time now in discussing the votes of the last Congress in relation to the Salary Bill. We are called upon to confront this plain, practical question, ‘Shall the Salary Bill of the last Congress be repealed?’ I shall argue it on two grounds: first, the just demands of public opinion; second, the relation of this repeal to the Government and its necessities; and I shall confine my remarks to these two points. I think it cannot be doubted that public opinion plainly and clearly demands the repeal;

and on a subject like this, the voice of the people should have more than ever its usual weight.

“When the public says to me, and to those associated with me, that we have under constitutional law given ourselves more pay than that public is willing to grant us, it would be indelicate and indecent in us on such a question to resist that public opinion.

“It does not compromise the manhood, the independence, or the self-respect of any representative to say that he will not help to keep on the statute book a law which allows him more pay than public opinion thinks he ought to have. Even if he believes public opinion wrong, he ought to yield to it in a matter of such delicacy.

“That is all the argument I make on the score of public opinion.

“I now come to the other point, the necessities of the Government. Gentlemen must remember that only seven years ago our expenditures had risen to a volume that was simply frightful, in view of the burdens of the country. We were then paying out over the counter of our treasury \$1,290,000,000 a year as the cost of sustaining the Government and meeting the great expenses entailed by the war. What was the duty of this national legislature? Manifestly to bring the expenses of the Government down as rapidly as possible from the high level of war to the normal level of peace.

“If, therefore, the forty-third Congress intends to go forward in the work of economy and retrenchment, if it has any hope of making further reductions in the expenditures of this Government, we must, before undertaking to carry out that work, give ourselves the moral

power that will result from a reduction of our own pay to the old standard. As the case stands to-day, our own salaries are the master key in our hands by which alone we can turn the machinery that will bring about a further reduction of expenses in the Government.

“Mr. Speaker, I say all this on the theory that we are to run the Government as our fathers who made it intended it should be run—not on the principle of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Stephens), a principle that would make this the most expensive government on the globe, but on the old principle that there is something due to the honor of the service we perform.”

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL GARFIELD LEADS THE REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION—IS ELECTED TO THE SENATE.

Efforts to defeat General Garfield for Congress—His triumphant Re-election—The Democrats have a Majority in the House—Garfield loses his Chairmanship—One of the Republican Leaders—A sharp Arraignment of the Democratic Party—The Democratic Graveyard—Ohio goes Republican—General Garfield nominated for United States Senator—Is the Republican Candidate for Speaker of the House—A Member of two important Committees—Becomes the Republican Leader in the House—Garfield pours a Broadside into the Democratic Ranks—A Withering Denunciation of Democratic Policy—Reply to Mr. Tucker, of Virginia—Garfield breaks the Democratic Line—Delight of the Republicans in the House—Comments of the *New York Herald*—Appeal in behalf of the Loyal Men of the South—Speech on the Judicial Expenses Bill—Speech at Madison Wisconsin—Speech at the Andersonville Re-union—Plain Talking on a Sad Subject—General Garfield is Elected to the United States Senate—His Arrival at Columbus—Reception at the Capital—His Remarks—Address of President Hinsdale on Garfield's Election—Speech of General Garfield on Democratic Nullification.

IN the elections of 1874, the Republican party suffered heavy reverses in the Congressional districts. The result was that a Democratic majority was returned to the House of Representatives. General Garfield was renominated by his district, receiving nearly every vote in the Convention, but at the polls a determined effort was made by the Democrats to defeat him. His vote was cut down from 19,189 in 1872, to 12,591, and an Inde-

pendent Republican polled 3,427 votes ; but Garfield still had a plurality of 6,346 over his Democratic antagonist, and a clear majority of 2,919 over all opposition.

The preponderance of the Democratic party in the House, of course, gave them the speakership and the control of all the committees. General Garfield was removed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Appropriations, and was made the second Republican member of the Committee of Ways and Means. He rendered good service to his party and the country in this position, and by his boldness and brilliancy made himself regarded as one of the ablest leaders of the Republican minority in the House. In this respect he ranked next in the popular estimation to Mr. Blaine, of Maine, to whom the leadership of the party was conceded—surpassing him, indeed, in many things. He held his position on the Committee of Ways and Means for four years.

In 1876 General Garfield was again returned to Congress by a handsome majority. He had become so useful to his party that his nomination and election were now a matter of certainty. He ably maintained his great reputation as a speaker, as the following extract from one of his speeches delivered in the House on the 4th of August, 1876, will show :

“ Mr. Chairman.—It is now time to inquire as to the fitness of this Democratic party to take control of our great nation and its vast and important interests for the next four years. I put the question to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Lamar). What has the Democratic party done to merit that great trust? He tries to

show in what respects it would not be dangerous. I ask him to show in what it would be safe.

"I affirm, and I believe I do not misrepresent the great Democratic party, that in the last sixteen years they have not advanced one great national idea that is not to-day exploded and as dead as Julius Cæsar. And if any Democrat here will rise and name a great national doctrine his party has advanced, within that time, that is now alive and believed in, I will yield to him. (A pause.) In default of an answer, I will attempt to prove my negative.

"What were the great central doctrines of the Democratic party in the Presidential struggle of 1860? The followers of Breckinridge said slavery had a right to go wherever the Constitution goes. Do you believe that to-day? And is there a man on this continent that holds that doctrine to-day? Not one. That doctrine is dead and buried. The other wing of the Democracy held that slavery might be established in the Territories if the people wanted it. Does anybody hold that doctrine to-day? Dead, absolutely dead!

"Come down to 1864. Your party, under the lead of Tilden and Vallandigham, declared the experiment of war to save the Union was a failure. Do you believe in that doctrine to-day? That doctrine was shot to death by the guns of Farragut at Mobile, and driven, in a tempest of fire, from the valley of the Shenandoah by Sheridan, less than a month after its birth at Chicago.

"Come down to 1868. You declared the constitutional amendments revolutionary and void. Does any

man on this floor say so to-day? If so, let him rise and declare it.

“Do you believe in the doctrine of the Broadhead letter of 1868, that the so-called constitutional amendments should be disregarded? No; the gentleman from Mississippi accepts the results of the war! The Democratic doctrine of 1868 is dead!

“I walk across that Democratic camping ground as in a graveyard. Under my feet resound the hollow echoes of the dead. There lies Slavery, a black marble column at the head of its grave, on which I read: ‘Died in the flames of the Civil War: loved in its life; lamented in its death; followed to its bier by its only mourner, the Democratic party, but dead!’ And here is a double grave; ‘Sacred to the memory of Squatter Sovereignty. Died in the Campaign of 1860.’ On the reverse side; ‘Sacred to the memory of Dred Scott and the Breckinridge doctrine. Both dead at the hands of Abraham Lincoln!’ And here a monument of brimstone; ‘Sacred to the memory of the Rebellion: the War against it is a failure; *Tilden et Vallandigham—fecerunt*, A. D. 1864. Dead on the field of battle; shot to death by the million guns of the Republic. The doctrine of Secession, of State Sovereignty, dead! Expired in the flames of civil war, amid the blazing rafters of the Confederacy, except that the modern Æneas, fleeing out of the flames of that ruin, bears on his back another Anchises of State sovereignty, and brings it here in the person of the honorable gentleman from the Appomattox district of Virginia (Mr. Tucker). All else is dead!

“Now, gentlemen, are you sad, are you sorry for these deaths? Are you not glad that Secession is dead? that Squatter Sovereignty is dead? that the doctrine of the failure of the War is dead? Then you are glad that you were out-voted in 1860, in 1864, in 1868, and in 1872. If you have tears to shed over these losses, shed them in the graveyard, but not in this House of living men. I know that many a Southern man rejoices that these issues are dead. The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Lamar) has clothed his joy with eloquence.

“Now, gentlemen, if you yourselves are glad that you have suffered defeat during the last sixteen years, will you not be equally glad when you suffer defeat next November? But pardon that remark. I regret it; I should use no bravado.

“Now, gentlemen, come with me for a moment into the camp of the Republican party and review its career. Our central doctrine in 1860 was that slavery should never extend itself over another foot of American soil. Is that doctrine dead? It is folded away like a victorious banner; its truth is alive for evermore on this continent. In 1864 we declared that we would put down the rebellion and secession. And that doctrine lives, and will live when the second centennial has arrived. Freedom, national, universal and perpetual—our great constitutional amendments, are they alive or dead? Alive, thank the God that shields both liberty and union. And our national credit! saved from the assaults of Pendleton; saved from the assaults of those who struck it later, rising higher and higher at home and abroad; and only now in

doubt lest its chief, its only enemy, the Democracy, should triumph in November."

General Garfield took an active part in the memorable campaign of 1877, which did much to restore the State of Ohio to the Republican party. In the early part of the year he was a candidate for the office of United States Senator from Ohio, to succeed the Hon. John Sherman, who had accepted the secretaryship of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Hayes. He withdrew from the contest, however, at the special request of President Hayes, who assured him he could be of more service to the administration as a member of the House than as a senator. Mr. Blaine had been elected to the Senate, and General Garfield was now the formally recognized leader of the Republican party in the House. He held this position for several years, displaying in it all his old vigor and boldness, and the sound qualities of leadership that induced the Republican party to nominate him for the Presidency.

At the meeting of the forty-fifth Congress in 1877, General Garfield was the Republican candidate for Speaker of the House, and received the full vote of his party. The Democrats being so largely in the majority, the Republican nomination and the vote upon it were merely complimentary. Hon. Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, was elected Speaker by the Democrats.

In 1878 General Garfield was again elected to Congress by a handsome majority.

In the same year, when the Democrats controlled the Legislature of Ohio, General Garfield was a candidate for

the complimentary vote of his party for United States Senator; but after a prolonged and bitter contest in the caucus, his name was withdrawn, and it was resolved to cast only blank votes in the two Houses.

The forty-sixth Congress met in extra session on the 18th of March, 1879. General Garfield was nominated by the Republicans for Speaker of the House, and received one hundred and twenty-five votes, but the Democratic majority reseatd Speaker Randall. The Speaker, in reorganizing the standing committees of the House, placed General Garfield at the head of the Republican membership of the Committee of Ways and Means. He also appointed him one of the committee charged with revising the rules of the House of Representatives, thus paying a high and deserved compliment to General Garfield's rare knowledge of parliamentary law.

General Garfield was the acknowledged leader of the Republican side of the House during this session. He held the Democracy to a strict accountability in forcing the extra session upon the country, and denounced their course in withholding the supplies of the Government in order to force upon it an acceptance of their schemes for removing the safeguards that had been thrown around the ballot box, which measures he declared were unpatriotic and dangerous. On the 29th of March, 1879, he made his great effort. The House went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Springer, of Illinois, in the chair, on the Army Appropriation Bill.

"Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, obtained the floor, and proceeded to speak in a clear voice. He did not desire

to say much outside of the pending point of order. The section against which that point had been raised was clearly germane to the bill. All laws penal in their character were to be construed strictly, but laws involving questions of public right, public liberty, and public policy were to be liberally construed—not strictly. The gentleman from Maine (Mr. Frye) had said that the section did not, on its face, retrench expenditures. That was not the question. The question was, ‘Would it probably retrench expenditures?’ He thought it would, and not only possibly or probably, but certainly. The past history of the country showed that enormous expenditures had attended the use of troops at elections. He went on to argue that the acts of 1795 and 1817 only authorized the use of the troops to put down domestic insurrection. The provision for the use of troops for civil purposes was an entirely different matter. The law authorizing the use of troops at the polls had never any existence until 1865, and the danger of such a law would not, he presumed, be denied by anybody. If there was any man on the floor who was in favor of peaceable elections and order throughout the length and breadth of the land he (Mr. Stephens) professed to be equally strong with him in that feeling. He was for law and order. He had witnessed the soldier at the polls, and had seen no good of it. The country had got along three-fourths of a century without having troops at the polls, and the sentiment of the people was as much against their presence there now as it had ever been. The future harmony, order, and prosperity of the country would be greatly promoted by hereafter adhering to the principles and precepts of the

fathers of the Republic. Congress had a right to raise armies and to designate the purpose for which they should be used ; and the President's right to control and direct their movements was clearly an executive one, with which Congress had no power to interfere. But it could say that the executive could not use such forces for a particular purpose. It had a right (which he did not think the executive would deny) to say that the military should not be used at the polls. Let the land forces be devoted to protecting the frontier. Let the navy be afloat on the sea, protecting the country's flag and commerce. Let each be in the sphere to which it was entitled, in which, in the past, it had won such honor and glory for the common country. Let them perform their duties, and let the civil administration of the country go on in its own channel. Let members of Congress be returned as heretofore, and if any man was defrauded of his right, then let the high court of the country, the House of Representatives, decide that question, and not the bayonet of the soldier.

REVOLUTIONARY DECISION OF THE CHAIR.

"The Chairman then proceeded to rule on the point of order, which he did by declaring the section to be in order, both on the ground of its being germane and of its retrenching expenditure. There could scarcely be a doubt as to its being germane, for it related to the duties of the army, or rather to the uses to which the army may be put. 'Germane' did not mean synonymous, but meant something near akin, closely allied, relevant to the sub-

ject. As to the question of retrenching expenditures, he referred to the official estimates and to appropriations heretofore made to show how much money had been expended for transportation and other expenses attending the use of the troops at the polls. The ending section proposed to retrench such expenditures for the future. For these and other reasons the point of order was overruled.

“Mr. Conger (Rep.), of Michigan, appealed from the decision of the chair, and the decision was sustained—yeas 125, nays 107.

“Mr. New (Rep.), of Indiana, offered an amendment providing that nothing contained in the section should be held to abridge or affect the duty or power of the President under the fourth article of the Constitution to send troops into States on the application of the legislature or executive.

“The amendment was allowed to stand over for the present.

MR. GARFIELD'S SPEECH.

“Mr. Garfield (Rep.), of Ohio, then took the floor. He commenced his speech by referring to the gravity and solemnity of the crisis that had now been brought upon the country, and declared that the House had, to-day, resolved to enter upon a revolution against the Constitution and the Government; and that the consequence of that resolve, if persisted in, meant nothing short of subversion of the Government. He sketched the point at issue between the two Houses at the close of the last Congress, and read from a report of one of the Senate conferees to

the effect that the Democratic conferees on the part of the House were determined, unless the action of the House was concurred in, to refuse making appropriations to carry on the Government, and he also quoted from the speech of Senator Beck (another of the conferees) to the effect that the Democrats claimed the right which the House of Commons in England had established, after two centuries of conquest, to say they would not grant the money of the people unless there was a redress of grievances. These propositions, continued Mr. Garfield, in various forms, more or less vehemently, were repeated in the last House, and with that situation of affairs the session came near its close. The Republican majority in the Senate, and the Republican minority in the House, expressed the deepest possible solicitude to avoid the catastrophe here threatened. They expressed their strongest desire to avoid the danger to the country and to its business of an extra session of Congress, and they expressed their willingness to let go what they considered the least important of the propositions—not as a matter of coercion at all, but as a matter of fair adjustment and compromise, if they could be met in the spirit of adjustment on the other side. Unfortunately, no spirit of adjustment appeared on the other side to meet their advances. And now the new Congress is assembled, and after ten days of deliberation the House of Representatives has resolved substantially to reaffirm the propositions of its predecessor, and on these propositions we are met to-day. This is no time to enter into all this case. I am not prepared for it myself. But I shall confine myself to the one phase of the issue presented in this bill.

DRAWING THE LINES.

“Mr. Atkins (Dem.), of Ten., asked Mr. Garfield whether he understood him to state that there had been no proposition to compromise made in Conference Committee.

“Mr. Garfield replied that he did not undertake to state what had been said in the Conference Committee, for he had not been a member of the Conference. He had been only stating what had been stated on the floor of the House and of the Senate.

“Mr. Atkins.—Then I state that a proposition was made in the Conference Committee the same as the proposition now before the House, and which is proposed to be attached to this bill.

“Mr. Garfield.—I take it for granted that what my friend says is strictly true. I know nothing to the contrary. The question may be asked why we make any special resistance to propositions which a great many gentlemen have declared are to be considered of no importance. So far as this side is concerned I desire to say this: We recognize you, gentlemen of the other side, as skilful parliamentarians and skilful strategists; you have chosen wisely and adroitly your line of assault; you have put forward perhaps the least objectionable of your measures, but we meet that as one part of your programme. We reply to it as an order of battle, and we are as much compelled by the logic of the situation to meet you on the skirmish line as we would be if you were attacking the intrenchments themselves. And, therefore, on the threshold, we desire to plant our case on the general grounds on which we choose to defend it.

THE FEEBLEST GOVERNMENT ON EARTH.

“Mr. Garfield then went on to refer to what he had stated on the last day of the last Congress, as to the division of the government into three parts—the nation, the Senate, and the people; and he said that, looking at the government as a foreigner might look upon it, it might be said to be the feeblest government on the earth, while looking at it as American citizens did, it was the mightiest government. A foreigner could point out a dozen ways in which the government could be killed, and that not by violence. Of course all governments might be overturned by the sword. But there was some ways by which this government might be utterly annihilated without the firing of a gun. The people might say that they would not elect representatives. That, of course, was a violent supposition, but there was no possible remedy for such a condition of things, and without a House of Representatives there could be no support of a government, and, consequently, there could be no government; so the States might say through their legislatures, that they would not elect senators. The very abstention from electing senators would absolutely destroy the government, and there would be no process of compulsion. Or, supposing that the two Houses were assembled in their usual order, and that a bare majority of one in either House should firmly bind itself together and say that it would vote to adjourn at the moment of meeting each day, and would do that for two years in succession—in that case what would happen and what would be the measure of redress?

The government would die. There could not be found in the whole range of judicial or executive authority any remedy whatever. The power of a member of the House to vote was free, and he might vote 'no' on every proposition of that kind. It was not so with the executive. The executive had no power to destroy the government. Let the executive travel but one inch beyond the line of law and there was the power of impeachment. But if the electors among the people who elected representatives, or if the electors in the State legislatures who created senators, or if senators and representatives themselves abstain from the performance of their duty, there was no remedy.

WHAT THE CONSTITUTION MEANT.

"At a first view it might seem remarkable that a body of wise men like those who framed the Constitution should have left the whole side of the fabric of government open to those deadly assaults, but on another view of the case they were wise. What was their reliance? It was on the sovereignty of the nation, on the crowned and anointed sovereign to whom all American citizens owed their allegiance. That sovereign was the body of the people of the United States, inspired by their love of country and their sense of obligation to public duty. As the originators of the forces that were sent to Congress to do their work they had no need of any coercive authority to be laid on them to compel them to do their manifest duty. Public opinion, the level of that mighty ocean from which all heights and all depths were measured, was deemed a sufficient measure to guard that side of the

constitution and those approaches to the life of the nation, absolutely from all danger, all harm. Up to this hour our sovereign has never failed us. There has never been such abstention from the exercise of those primary functions of sovereignty, as either to cripple or endanger the government. And now, for the first time in our history, and I will say for the first time in at least two centuries in the history of English-speaking people, has it been proposed, or at least insisted upon, that these voluntary powers shall be used for the destruction of the government. I want it understood that the proposition which I have read, and which is the programme announced to the American people to-day, is, this day, that if we cannot have our way in a certain manner, we will destroy the government of this country by using the voluntary power not of the people, but of ourselves, against the government to destroy it. What is our theory of law? It is free consent. That is the granite foundation of our whole structure. Nothing in this Republic can be a law that has not a free consent of the House, the free consent of the Senate, and the free consent of the executive. Or if the executive refuses his free consent, then it must have the free consent of two-thirds of each body. Will anybody deny that? Will anybody challenge a line of that statement—that free consent is the foundation rock of all our institutions?

THREATS TO STOP THE GOVERNMENT.

“And yet the programme announced two weeks ago was, that if the Senate refused to consent to the demand of the House the government should stop. The proposi-

tion was then, and the programme is now, that although there is not a Senate to veto it, there is still a third independent factor in the legislative power of the government which is to be coerced at the peril of the destruction of the government. It makes no difference what your issue is. If it were the simplest and most inoffensive proposition in the world, yet if you demand as a matter of coercion that it shall be put in, every fair-minded Republican in America would be bound to resist it as much as though his own life depended on his resistance. I am not arguing as to the merits of your three amendments at all : I am speaking of our methods, and I say that they are against the constitution of our country. I say that they are revolutionary to the core, and that they tend to the destruction of the first element of American liberty, which is free consent of all the powers that unite to make the law. I ask anybody to take up my challenge and to show me where hitherto this consent has been coerced as a condition precedent to the support of the government. It is a little surprising to me that our friends on the other side should have gone into this great contest on so slender a topic as the one embraced in this particular bill. Victor Hugo said, in his description of the great Battle of Waterloo, that two armies were like two mighty giants, and that sometimes a chip under the heel of one might determine the victory. It may be, gentlemen, that there is merely a chip under your heel, or it may be that you treated it as a chip on our shoulder. But whether it is under your heel or on our shoulder it represents a matter of revolution, and we fight for the chip as if it were an

ingot of the richest ore. [Loud applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

A POINT FOR DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS.

“Let us see what the chip is. Do the gentlemen know what they ask when they ask us to repeal? Who made this law which you now demand to have repealed in this bill? It was introduced into the Senate of the United States by a prominent Democrat from the State of Kentucky (Mr. Powell). It was insisted upon in an able and elaborate speech by him. It was reported against by a Republican committee in that body. It went through days and weeks of debate in the Senate, and when it finally came to be acted upon in that body this is about the way the vote ran: Every Democrat in the Senate voted for it, and every senator who voted against it was a Republican. No Democrat voted against it, but every Democratic senator voted for it. Who were they? Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana; Mr. Davis, of Kentucky; Mr. Johnson, of Maryland; Mr. McDougal, of California; Mr. Powell, of Kentucky; Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, and Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware. There were fewer Republican senators who voted for it than there were who voted against it. Thirteen Republican senators voted against it and only ten for it. The bill then came over to the House and was put upon its passage here. And how did the vote stand in this body? Every Democrat in the House of Representatives voted for it—sixty of them. The total number of persons who voted for it in the House was about one hundred and thirteen, and of that number a majority were Democrats. The distin-

guished Speaker of the House, Samuel J. Randall, voted for it. The distinguished chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means (Fernando Wood) voted for it. A distinguished member from Ohio, now a senator from that State (Mr. Pendleton) voted for it. Every man of leading name or fame in the Democratic party who was then in the Congress of the United States voted for the bill, and not one against it. In this House there were but few Republicans who voted against it. I was one of the few. Thaddeus Stephens voted against it. What was the object of the bill at that time? It was this—it was alleged by Democrats that in those days of war there was interference with elections in the border States. There was no charge of any interference in the States where war did not exist. But lest there might be some infraction of the freedom of elections a large number of Republicans in Congress were unwilling to give any appearance whatever of interfering with the freedom of elections, voted against this law as an expression of their purpose that the army should not be improperly used in and about any election.

“Mr. Carlisle (Dem.) of Kentucky.—I want to ask if the Democrats in the Senate and the House did not vote for that proposition because it came in the form of a substitute for another proposition still more objectionable to them?

“Mr. Garfield.—The gentleman is quite mistaken. The original bill was introduced by Senator Powell, of Kentucky. It was amended by several persons in its course through the Senate, but the vote I have given is the final vote. A Republican senator moved to reconsider it,

hoping to kill the proposition, and for four or five days it was delayed. It was again passed, every Democrat voting for it. In the House there was no debate, and therefore no expression of the reason why anybody voted for it.

STEPHENS IN A MERRY MOOD.

“Mr. Stephens, of Georgia.—I wish to ask the gentleman if the country is likely to be revolutionized and the Government destroyed by repealing a law that the gentleman voted against? (Laughter on the Democratic side.)

“Mr. Garfield.—I think not, sir. That is not the element of revolution that I have been discussing. The proposition now is that fourteen years have passed since the war, and not one petition from any American citizen has come to us asking that the law be repealed; not one memorial has found its way to our desks, complaining of the law; and now the Democratic House of Representatives hold that if they are not permitted to force on another House and the executive against their will and their consent, the repeal of a law that the Democrats made it shall be a sufficient ground for starving this Government. That is the proposition we are here debating.

“Mr. Wood (Dem.), of New York.—Before the gentleman leaves that part of the discussion, I desire to ask him whether he wishes to make the impression on this House that the bill introduced by Senator Powell, of Kentucky, which resulted finally in the law of 1865, was the bill that passed the Senate and the House which he stated that the present Speaker of the House and myself voted in favor of?

“Mr. Garfield.—I have not intimated that there were no amendments. There were amendments.

“Mr. Wood.—I want to correct the impression. I deny that, so far as I am personally concerned, I ever voted for the bill, except as a substitute for a more pernicious and objectionable measure. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

“Mr. Garfield.—All I say is a matter of record. What I say is that the gentleman voted for that law, and every Democrat in the Senate and in the House who voted at all voted for it.

“Mr. Wood.—I want to ask the gentleman whether, in 1865, at the time of the passing of this law, the war had really yet subsided—whether there was not a portion of this country in a condition where it was impossible to exercise an elective franchise unless there was some kind of military interference; and whether, at the expiration of fourteen years after the war has subsided, that gentleman is yet prepared to continue a war measure in a time of profound peace in the country?

GOING BACK TO 1860.

“Mr. Garfield.—I have no doubt that the patriotic gentleman from New York took all those things into consideration when he voted for that bill, and I may have been unpatriotic in voting against it; but he and I must stand on our record as made up. Let it be understood that I have not at all entered into the discussion of the merits of the case. I am discussing a method of revolution against the Constitution of the United States. I desire

to ask the forbearance of the gentlemen on the other side for remarks that I dislike to make, for they will bear witness that I have in many ways shown my desire that the wounds of the war shall be healed and that the grass that God plants over the graves of our dead may signalize the return of the spring of friendship and peace between all parts of this country. But I am compelled by the necessity of the situation to refer for a moment to a chapter of history. The last act of the Democratic administration in this House, eighteen years ago, was stirring and dramatic, but it was heroic and high-souled. Then the Democratic party said, 'If you elect your man as President of the United States, we will shoot your Union to death;' and the people of this country, not willing to be coerced, but believing that they had a right to vote for Abraham Lincoln if they chose, did elect him lawfully as President. And then your leaders in control of the majority of the other wing of this Capitol did the heroic thing of withdrawing from their seats, and your representatives withdrew from their seats and flung down to us the gage of mortal battle. We called it rebellion, but we admitted that it was honorable, that it was courageous, and that it was noble to give us the fell gage of battle and fight it out in the open field. That conflict and what followed we all know too well; and to-day, after eighteen years, the book of your domination is opened where you turned down your leaves in 1860, and you are signalizing your return to power by reading the second chapter (not this time an heroic one), that declares that if we do not let you dash a statute out of the book, you will, not shoot the Union to death, as in the first chapter, but starve it to

death by refusing the necessary appropriations. (Applause on the Republican side.) You, gentlemen, have it in your power to kill this movement; you have it in your power, by withholding these two bills, to smite the nerve centres of our constitution to the stillness of death; and you have declared your purpose to do it if you cannot break down the elements of free consent that up to this time have always ruled in the Government.

SUPERCILIOUS CARPING.

“Mr. Davis (Dem.), of North Carolina.—Do I understand the gentleman to state that refusal to admit the army at the polls will be the death of this government? That is the logic of his remark if it means anything. We say it will be the preservation of the government to keep the army from destroying liberty at the polls.

“Mr. Garfield.—I have too much respect for the intelligence of the gentleman from North Carolina to believe that he thinks that that was my argument. He does not say that he thinks so. On the contrary, I am sure that every clear-minded man knows that that was not my argument. My argument was this—that unless some independent branch of the legislative power against its will is forced to sign or vote what it does not consent to, it will use the power in its hands to starve the government to death.

“Mr. Davis.—How does the gentleman assume that we are forcing some branch of the government to do what it does not wish to do? How do we know that, or how does the gentleman know it?”

“Mr. Garfield.—My reply to the gentleman is, that I read at the outset of my remarks the declaration of his party asserting that this is its programme. In 1856, in Cincinnati, in the National Democratic Convention, and still later, in 1860, the national Democracy in the United States, affirmed the right of the veto as one of the sacred rights of our Government, and declared that any law which could not be passed over a veto had no right to become a law, and that the only redress was an appeal from the veto to the people at the next election. That has been the Democratic doctrine on that subject from the remotest day—certainly from General Jackson’s time until now. What would you have said in 1861 if the Democratic majority in the Senate, instead of taking the course which it did, had simply said: ‘We will put an amendment on an appropriation bill declaring the right of any State to secede from the Union at pleasure, and forbidding any officer of the army or navy of the United States from interfering with any State in its purpose to secede?’ Suppose the Democratic majority had said then, ‘Put that on these appropriation bills, or we will refuse supplies to the government.’ Perhaps they could have killed the government then by starvation. But in the madness of that hour the secession government did not dream that it would be honorable to put their fight on that ground, but they walked out on their plan of battle and fought it out. But now, in a way which the wildest of secessionists never dreamed of taking, it is proposed to make this new assault on the vitals of the nation.

A REPUBLICAN CHALLENGE.

“Gentlemen (addressing the Democratic side of the House), we have tried to count the cost. We did try to count it in 1861 before we picked up the gage of battle; and although no man could then forecast the awful loss in blood and treasure, yet having started in we staid there to victory. We simply made the appeal to our sovereign, to that great omnipotent public opinion in America, to determine whether the Union should be shot to death. And now lawfully in our right hand, in our place here, we pick up the gage of battle which you have thrown down, and will appeal to our common sovereign to say whether you shall break down the principle of free consent in legislation at the price of starving the government to death. We are ready to pass these bills for the support of the government at any hour when you will offer them in the ordinary way, and if you offer these other measures as separate measures, we will meet you in the spirit of fair and fraternal debate. But you shall not compel us—you shall not coerce us—even to save this government, until the question has gone to the sovereign to determine whether it will consent to break down any of its voluntary powers. And on that ground, gentlemen, we plant ourselves. (Loud applause on the Republican side and in the galleries.) We remind you, in conclusion, that this great zeal of yours in regard to keeping the officers of the government out of the States has not been always yours. I remember that only six years before the war your law authorized marshals of the United States to go through all our house-

holds and hunt for fugitive slaves. It did not only that, but it empowered marshals to call for a posse-comitatus and to call upon all the bystanders to join in the chase, and your Democratic attorney-general declared in an opinion, in 1854, that a marshal of the United States might call to his aid the whole posse, including soldiers and sailors and marines of the United States, to join in the chase and to hunt down the fugitive. Now, fellow members of the House, if, for the purpose of making slavery eternal, you could send your marshals and could summon posses and use the armed forces of the United States, by what face or grace can you tell us that, in order to procure freedom in elections and peace at the polls, you cannot use the same marshal with his armed posse? But I refrain from discussing the merits of the proposition. I have tried in this hurried and unsatisfactory way to give my ground of opposition to this legislation."

As Mr. Garfield resumed his seat, he was again loudly applauded on the Republican side and in the galleries.

On the 4th of April, in reply to Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, who in behalf of his party had threatened the stoppage of the supplies of the army unless the rider tacked on to the appropriation bill, forbidding the use of the troops at the polls, should be adopted, General Garfield spoke with rare force and effect.

"Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, said: During the last four days fifteen or twenty demolitions of his argument of last Saturday had been made in the presence of the House and of the country. All of them save one had alleged

that he held it to be revolutionary to place this legislation on an appropriation bill. If they had any particular pleasure in setting up a man of straw to knock him down again, they had enjoyed that pleasure. He had never claimed that it was either revolutionary or unconstitutional to put a rider on an appropriation bill. No man on the Republican side had claimed that. The most that had been said was that it was considered a bad parliamentary practice. All parties in the country had repeatedly said that. The gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Blackburn) had thought that he was especially severe in showing that he (Mr. Garfield) had insisted on the passage of a conference report in 1872, in an appropriation bill that had a rider to it, and had said that it was revolutionary in the Democratic party to resist it. What he (Mr. Garfield) had said on that occasion, and what he said now, was that it was revolutionary in the gentleman's party to refuse to let the appropriation bill be voted on. For four days gentlemen on that side had said that the House should not vote on the appropriation bill because there was a rider on it. He had tried to prevent that rider being put on, but when the minority insisted that the House should never act upon it, he had said that that was an unparliamentary obstruction. The Republicans did not filibuster to prevent a vote on the pending measure. The majority had a right (however indecent it might be as a matter of parliamentary practice) to put a rider on the appropriation bill and pass it. When the bill was sent to the Senate that body had a perfect right to pass it. And when it went to the President, it was the President's constitutional right to approve and sign it. If the Presi-

dent signed it, then it would be a law ; but it was equally the President's constitutional right to disapprove it. Should he do so, then, unless the other side had a two-third majority in the House and Senate to pass the bill notwithstanding the President's objections, it could not be passed without the flattest violation of the constitution.

THE VETO QUESTION.

"Nobody on the Republican side had brought up the question of a veto. It had been brought up by the proclamation of Democratic caucuses and by the conference committees of the last House that had written it down as their programme, that they would bind together these elements of legislation and send them to the President, and that if he did not approve them the Democratic party would not vote supplies for the government. You (said he, addressing the opposite side) threatened him in advance, before you let him have an opportunity to say yes or no. You walked into this Capitol with your threats against him in your high-sounding proclamations. You 'threatened in the index : ' it remains to be seen whether in the body of your work and in its concluding sentences your thunder will be as loud as it was in the opening chapter. (Applause on the Republican side.) Let no gentleman say that I, or any man on this floor, have threatened a veto. It would be indecent to do it. It would be indecent for any of us even to speak of what the executive intends, for none of us has the right to know that. But you in advance proclaim to him that if he dared to exercise his constitutional power you would refuse to vote the supplies of the government—in other

words, that you would starve it to death. And that is the proposition of my distinguished friend from Virginia (Mr. Tucker), who has come nearer meeting this case than any man on this floor—has made a point which is a part of the grandeur of his intellect, which I respect. He says that under our constitution we can vote supplies for the army for but two years, and that in a certain way the army ceases to be if the supplies are not voted. He is mistaken in one thing—the army is an organization independent of appropriation bills so far as the creation of officers and ranks is concerned. The mere supply of it, of course, comes through the appropriation bills. If you refuse supplies to the army it must perish of inanition. The gentleman from Virginia says, ‘Unless you let us append a condition, which is to us a redress of grievances, we will let the army be annihilated on the 30th of June next by lack of food and shelter.’ That is fair in argument; that is brave. But what is the ‘grievance’ of which the gentleman complains? A law: a law of the land. A law made by the representatives of the people, made through all the proper forms of consent known to our constitution. And it is his grievance that he could not get rid of it in the ordinary and constitutional way of repealing a law. If he can get rid of it by all the powers of consent that go to make or unmake a law, then he can do so, whether it is a ‘grievance’ or not, whether it is good or bad.

“If the gentleman from Virginia wants to take before the American people this proposition of letting our army be annihilated on the 30th of June next, unless the President, against his conscience and sense of duty, shall sign

what he sends him, we will debate the question in the forum of every man's mind. If what the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Blackburn) calls 'the return of the Democratic party to its birthright' (changed to 'heritage' in the *Record*) is to be signalized in its first great act by striking down the grand army of the United States, the people of this country will not be slow to understand that there are reminiscences about that army which these gentlemen would willingly get rid of. [Loud applause on the Republican side and in the galleries].

"In the course of further remarks Mr. Garfield expressed his willingness to help the Democrats to wipe from the statute book the law authorizing the use of the army at the polls. A bill for that purpose should be introduced in the regular manner."

In describing the effect of this speech the correspondent of the *New York Herald* said :

"The exposure by General Garfield to-day of the demure manner in which the rider of the army bill was arranged by the Democrats will deservedly put the managers of the extremists to disgrace. The amendment so hastily offered from the Democratic side after he sat down, showed their surprise and a certain demoralization. This amendment has yet to be discussed in the House, as well as Mr. Baker's, offered in the interest of economy, and, he might have added, of a useful and necessary reform, and the whole bill will be elaborately discussed and amended in the Senate. It will go to the President in a shape quite different from that in which it was brought into the House, and there are signs here that the moderate men of the Democratic side are at last—and a little too

late, as usual—making up their minds to assert themselves. They begin to try to steer their ship after the extremists have carried it into the breakers.”

Commenting upon the speech, the *Herald* said, editorially :

“The discussion of the army bill yesterday was more powerful and noteworthy than it has been on any preceding day. Its great feature was the second speech of Mr. Garfield, who rose to the full height of the occasion and stripped the question of the infinite rubbish which has gathered around it in the progress of the debate. It was really a statesmanlike effort, alike remarkable for candor, for clearness of statement, for force of logic and especially for the sureness of aim with which he hit the Democratic position between wind and water and set his opponents at work in trying to stop the leaks in their ship. He frankly repudiated all the Republican nonsense about the enormity of attaching extraneous legislation to an appropriation bill. He declared his willingness to repeal the offensive sections of the Revised Statutes in separate bills. He stated some strong reasons why it is inexpedient to strike out merely the one clause which the Democrats seek to repeal without annulling the whole section. The effect of his speech seems to have been remarkable in disconcerting the Democrats. It is probable now that if an attempt is made to carry out the threat of stopping the supplies, the party will split, and our correspondent therefore says, very aptly and forcibly, that Mr. Garfield ‘has broken the Democratic line.’”

On the 16th of April, during the debate on the Southern Claims Bill, General Garfield made the following gen

erous appeal in behalf of the men of the South who were loyal to the Union during the rebellion. He said:

“The general doctrine of belligerents is, of course, accepted by everybody to cover as enemies technically all the inhabitants of the belligerent territory. That general doctrine is recognized by all lawyers everywhere. But nobody has ever denied, except the gentleman from Wisconsin, that during our late war, and since the Supreme Court has repeatedly determined that in cases before it the question of loyalty cannot be raised where the party has been granted a pardon. It was stated in the last Congress that ninety-nine per cent. of all the people of the seceded States were what we would call disloyal, and that every man in those States that amounted to anything belonged to that category. I desire to traverse that proposition by some facts. Do gentlemen know that, leaving out all the border States, there were fifty regiments and seven companies of white men in our army fighting for the Union from the States that went into rebellion? Do they know that from the single State of Kentucky more Union soldiers fought under our flag than Napoleon took into the battle of Waterloo—more than Wellington took with all the allied armies against Napoleon? Do they remember that 186,000 colored men fought under our flag against the rebellion and for the Union, and that of that number 90,000 were from the States which went into rebellion? To say that they were enemies, that they had no rights, and that when we came out of the war we should not pay them and their families for all the proper losses that they suffered in aid of our Government, is what I had hoped no man on either side of the

House would say. I am glad to know that the gentlemen who fought against us do not say it—not one of them. It remained for one of our own soldiers to say that nothing ought to be paid to any man, however loyal, if he came from the South. In my judgment, that is in the highest degree inequitable and unjust. Let the Southern Claims Commission go on until it has acted in cases before it, and then let it be mustered out. Let us not enlarge that business, but let us complete it. Most of all, let us not turn it over to a court where the distinction between loyalty and disloyalty is not retained.”

On the 19th of June, 1879, Mr. McMahon (Dem.), of Ohio, submitted to conference report upon the judicial expenses bill. The report recommends that the House recede from its disagreement to amendment 1 and agree to the same, with an amendment striking out the words inserted by the Senate and inserting in lieu thereof the following: “Under any of the provisions of title 26 of the Revised Statutes of the United States authorizing the appointment or payment of general or special deputy marshals for services in connection with elections or on election day.”

“Mr. McMahon proceeded to explain the report. If adopted it would prohibit any officer of the Government from making any contract or incurring any liability under any of the provisions of title 26 of the Revised Statutes. It would be seen that supervisors were not mentioned in the section. There was no doubt that all supervisors, ordinary and chief, were paid out of a permanent annual appropriation fund. The limitation was confined to marshals, and if Democrats surrendered that limi-

tation, they would be base and worthless representatives of the people, and would no longer deserve the confidence of their constituents. Whatever might be thought of supervisors of elections the course of the Republican party in regard to special deputy marshals had been one of the grossest outrages on decent and fair elections that had ever been committed.

THE REPUBLICAN ATTITUDE.

“Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, opposed the report, and laid down the position occupied by the Republican side on this question. The bill went beyond making appropriations and proposed to prevent the executive authority of the Government from enforcing the law. The issue was narrowed down to this point—the majority avowed its determination that marshals, deputy marshals, and assistant marshals shall not be appointed to execute the laws as embodied in title 26 of the Revised Statutes, and confessed that the clause in the conference report was intended and devised for that purpose. That made a square issue, which everybody could understand. The other side did not like the law, but it should have proposed to amend it so as to correct the abuses complained of. The Republican side of the House was willing to offer or to accept an amendment placing the appointment of deputy marshals and assistant marshals (where that of the supervisors is) in the courts. That would be in the direction of legislation to cure the evil complained of. The other side, for want of a two-thirds majority, could not constitutionally repeal the law and therefore, not being able to repeal it, it wished to prevent the execution of the

law. It was necessary that the courts should be open to all suitors, that justice should be done in every district, that prisoners should have a speedy trial. And so the other side segregated from all the other appropriations of the year that for the judicial expenses of the Government, and it held out the bill for judicial expenses in one hand and said, not to the minority alone but to all the officers of the nation, 'Take this money; but you can only have it on condition that we shall be permitted to couple with it a provision that certain laws, which we cannot repeal, shall not be enforced; that for the coming year they shall be nullified.

POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT.

"See the attitude in which this bill puts the President of the United States. It puts him absolutely between two fires—the fire of your law on the one side, and the fire of heaven and his oath on the other.

"Mr. McMahon, of Ohio.—How is the President at all interfered with.

"Mr. Garfield.—The President has taken an oath that he shall see to it that the laws be faithfully executed. You do not repeal this law, but you make it impossible for him to execute it without his running in danger, on the one hand, of your impeaching him, or, on the other hand, without neglecting his duty and violating his oath. Now, I take it that no President of the United States can allow himself to be put in that attitude. The wisdom of the old writer of Proverbs, 'Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird,' is quite likely to apply in this case. I do not see that there is the slightest

probability that you can catch the President in this net, or that he will allow himself to be put in a position where he will be compelled to decide between obeying his oath and the constitution on the one hand, and obeying this entangling law on the other hand.

During the summer and fall of 1879, General Garfield delivered a number of speeches in the West. At the twenty-fifth reunion of the Western Republicans, held at Madison, in July, 1879, he spoke as follows :

“This vast assembly must have richly enjoyed the review of the party’s history presented here and celebrated here to-day, and not only a review of the past, but the hopeful promises made for the future of that great party. The Republican party, organized a quarter of a century ago, was made a necessity to carry out the pledges of the fathers that this should be a land of liberty.

“There was in the early days of the Republic, a Republican party that dedicated this very territory, and all our vast territory, to freedom ; that promised much for schools ; that abolished imprisonment for debt, and that instituted many wise reforms. But there were many conservatives in those days, whose measures degenerated into treason ; and the Republican party of to-day was but the revival of the Republican party of seventy years ago, under new and broader conditions of usefulness.

“It is well to remember and honor the greatest names of the Republican party. One of these is Joshua R. Giddings, who for twenty years was freedom’s champion in Congress, and, from a feeble minority of two, lived to see a Republican Speaker elected, and himself to

conduct him to the chair. Another is Abraham Lincoln, the man raised up by God for a great mission. No man ever had a truer appreciation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that great charter which it was the mission of the Republican party to enforce.

“There was a fitness in the first platform of the Wisconsin Republicans that they based themselves upon the Declaration of Independence. While the Republicans, from the first, have been true to their principles, perfecting all they promised, as proved to-day by the whole record, the Democrats, on the other hand, steadily wrong, have been forced from one bad position to another.

“Can any Democrat point with pride to his party platforms of 1854, or find in them any living issue? The issues they then presented led us into war and involved us in a great national debt. Looking for the cause of that debt, I say that the Democratic party caused it.

“We are, as a nation, emerging from difficulties, and the Republican party alone can probably claim that the brightest page of our country's history has been written by the true friends of freedom and progress. The Republican party has yet work to do. We are confronted to-day in Congress by nearly the same spirit that prevailed in the years just before the war.

“They tell us that the National Government is but the servant of the States; that we shall not interpose, as a nation, to guard an honest election in a State; that if we will interpose they will deny appropriations. Is this less dangerous than their position in 1861? Have we no interest except in local elections, no power to guard the ballot box and protect ourselves against outrages

upon it? Why does the South make this issue? I answer: They have a solid South, and only used to carry Ohio and New York to elect the President, and they trust to carry these States by the means they best know how to use.

"There are sentimentalists and optimists who may see no danger in this. There had been sentimentalists and optimists in the Republican party, but to-day all were stalwarts. President Hayes, when he came into office, was an optimist, but he saw all his hopes, conciliation frustrated, and all his advances met with scorn. We all now stand together on the issue as one."

At the Andersonville Reunion, at Toledo, Ohio, on the 3d of October, 1879, General Garfield said:

"My Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have addressed a great many audiences, but I never before stood in the presence of one that I felt so wholly unworthy to speak to. A man who came through the war without being shot or made prisoner is almost out of place in such an assemblage as this.

"While I have listened to you this evening, I have remembered the words of the distinguished Englishman who once said, 'that he was willing to die for his country.' Now, to say that a man is willing to die for his country is a good deal, but these men who sit before us have said a great deal more than that. I would like to know where the man is that would calmly step out on the platform and say, 'I am ready to starve to death for my country.' That is an enormous thing to say, but there is a harder thing than that. Find a man, if you can, who will walk out before this audience and

say, 'I am willing to become an idiot for my country.' How many men could you find who would volunteer to become idiots for their country?

"Now, let me make this statement to you, fellow-citizens: One hundred and eighty-eight thousand such men as this were captured by the rebels who were fighting our Government. One hundred and eighty-eight thousand! How many is that. They tell me there are 4,500 men and women in this building to-night! Multiply this mighty audience by forty and you will have about 188,000. Forty times this great audience were prisoners of war to the enemies of our country. And to every man of that enormous company there stood open night and day the offer: 'If you will join the rebel army, and lift up your hand against your flag, you are free.'

"A voice.—'That's so.'

"General Garfield.—'And you shall have food, and you shall have clothing, and you shall see wife, and mother, and child.'

"A voice.—'We didn't do it, though.'

"General.—And do you know that out of that 188,000 there were less than 3,000 who accepted the offer? And of those 3,000, perhaps nine-tenths of them did it with the mental reservation that they would desert at the first hour—the first moment there was an opportunity.

"Voices.—'That's so.'

"General Garfield.—But 185,000 out of the 188,000 said: 'No! not to see wife again; not to see child again; not to avoid starvation; not to avoid idiocy; not

to avoid the most loathsome of deaths, will I lift this hand against my country forever.' Now, we praise the ladies for their patriotism; we praise our good citizens at home for their patriotism; we praise the gallant soldiers who fought and fell. But what were all these things compared with that yonder? I bow in reverence. I would stand with unsandaled feet in the presence of such heroism and such suffering; and I would say to you, fellow-citizens, such an assemblage as this has never yet before met on this great earth.

"Who have reunions? I will not trench upon forbidden ground, but let me say this: Nothing on the earth and under the sky can call men together for reunions except ideas that have immortal truth and immortal life in them. The animals fight. Lions and tigers fight as ferociously as did you. Wild beasts tear to the death, but they never have reunions. Why? Because wild beasts do not fight for ideas. They merely fight for blood.

"All these men, and all their comrades went out inspired by two immortal ideas.

"First, that liberty shall be universal in America.

"And, second, that this old flag is the flag of a Nation, and not of a State; that the Nation is supreme over all people and all corporations.

"Call it a State; call it a section; call it a South; call it a North; call it anything you wish, and yet, armed with the nationality that God gave us, this is a Nation against all State sovereignty and secession whatever. It is the immortality of that truth that makes these reunions, and that makes this one. You believed

it on the battle-field, you believed it in the hell of Andersonville, and you believe it to-day, thank God; and you will believe it to the last gasp.

“Voices.—‘Yes, we will,’ ‘That’s so,’ etc.

“General Garfield.—Well, now, fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers—but I am not worthy to be your fellow in this work,—I thank you for having asked me to speak to you. [Cries of ‘Go on!’ ‘Go on!’ ‘Talk to us more, etc.].

“I want to say simply that I have had one opportunity only to do you any service. I did hear a man who stood by my side in the halls of the legislation—the man that offered on the floor of Congress the resolution that any man who commanded colored troops should be treated as a pirate and not as a soldier; as a slave-stealer and not as a soldier—I heard that man calmly say, with his head up in the light, in the presence of this American people, that the Union soldiers were as well treated, and as kindly treated in all the Southern prisons as were the rebel soldiers in all the Northern prisons.

“Voices.—‘Liar!’ ‘Liar!’ ‘He was a liar!’

“General Garfield.—I heard him declare that no kinder men ever lived than General Winder and his Commander-in-Chief, Jeff. Davis. [Yells of derision, hisses, etc.] And I took it upon myself to overwhelm him with the proof [a roll of applause begins], with the proof of the tortures you suffered, the wrongs done to you, were suffered and done with the knowledge of the Confederate authorities from Jefferson Davis down—[great applause, waving of hats, veterans standing in their chairs and cheering].—that it was a part of their policy to make you

idiots and skeletons, and to exchange your broken and shattered bodies and dethroned minds for strong, robust, well-fed rebel prisoners. That policy, I affirm, has never had its parallel for atrocity in the civilized world."

"Voice.—'That's so.'

"General Garfield.—It was never heard of in any land since the dark ages closed upon the earth. While history lives men have memories. We can forgive and forget all other things before we can forgive and forget this.

"Finally, and in conclusion, I am willing, for one—and I think I speak for thousands of others—I am willing to see all the bitterness of the late war buried in the grave of our dead. I would be willing that we should imitate the condescending, loving-kindness of him who planted the green grass on the battle-fields and let the fresh flowers bloom on all the graves alike. I would clasp hands with those who fought against us, make them my brethren, and forgive all the past, only on one supreme condition: that it be admitted in practice, acknowledged in theory, that the cause for which we fought, and you suffered, was and is, and for evermore will be right, eternally right." [Unbounded enthusiasm.]

"Voices.—'That's it,' 'That's so,' etc.

"General Garfield.—That the cause for which they fought was, and forever will be, the cause of treason and wrong. [Prolonged applause.] Until that is acknowledged my hand shall never grasp any rebel's hand across any chasm, however small." [Great applause and cheers]

General Garfield took an active part in the campaign in Ohio in the fall of 1879, which returned a Republican

legislature, and ensured the election of a United States senator of the same political faith.

The new Legislature of Ohio assembled in January, 1880, and at once proceeded to the election of a United States senator to succeed Allen G. Thurman, whose term would expire on the 3d of March, 1881. General Garfield was placed in nomination by his friends. Ex-Senator Stanley Matthews, ex-Attorney-General Alphonso Taft, and ex-Governor William Denison had also entered into a canvass for the place, but by the time the caucus met the general sentiment of the State was so earnest and enthusiastic in favor of Garfield that his three competitors withdrew without waiting for a ballot, and he was nominated unanimously by a rising vote. On the 15th of January he was elected United States Senator by a majority of 22 in the Assembly, and 7 in the Senate.

On the same day General Garfield arrived in Columbus from Washington, and in the evening a reception was given to him in the hall of the House of Representatives, in the State capitol. He was introduced by Governor Foster, and after some hand-shaking, spoke as follows :

“ Fellow-citizens : I should be a great deal more than a man, or a great deal less than a man, if I were not extremely gratified by the many marks of kindness you have shown me in recent days. I did not expect any such meeting as this. I knew there was a greeting awaiting me, but did not expect so cordial, generous, and general a greeting, without distinction of party, without distinction of interests, as I have received to-night. And you will allow me, in a moment or two, to speak of the memories this chamber awakens.

"Twenty years ago this last week I first entered this chamber and entered upon the duties of public life, in which I have been every hour since that time in some capacity or other. I left this chamber eighteen years ago, and I believe I have never entered it since that time. But the place is familiar, though it was not peopled with the faces that I see before me here to-night alone, but with the faces of hundreds of people that I knew here twenty years ago, a large number of whom are gone from earth.

"It was here in this chamber that the word was first brought of the firing on Fort Sumter. I remember distinctly a gentleman from Lancaster, the late Senator Schleigh—General Schleigh, who died not very long ago—I remember distinctly as he came down this aisle, with all the look of agony and anxiety in his face, informing us that the guns had opened upon Sumter. I remember that one week after that time, on motion of a leading Democratic senator, who occupied a seat not far from that position (pointing to the Democratic side of the chamber), that we surrendered this chamber to several companies of soldiers who had come to Columbus to tender their services to the imperilled Government. They slept on its carpets and on these sofas, and quartered for two or three nights in this chamber while waiting for other quarters outside the capitol.

"All the early scenes of the war are associated with this place in my mind. Here were the musterings—here was the centre, the nerve centre, of anxiety and agony. Here over 80,000 Ohio citizens tendered their services in the course of three weeks to the imperilled nation. Here, where we had been fighting our political battles with sharp

and severe partisanship, there disappeared, almost as if by magic, all party lines; and from both sides of the chamber men went out to take their places on the field of battle. I can see now, as I look out over the various seats, where sat men who afterward became distinguished in the service in high rank, and nobly served their constituencies and honored themselves.

“We now come to this place, while so many are gone; but we meet here to-night with the war so far back in the distance that it is an almost half-forgotten memory. We meet here to-night with a nation redeemed. We meet here to-night under the flag we fought for. We meet with a glorious, a great and growing Republic, made greater and more glorious by the sacrifices through which the country has passed. And coming here as I do to night, brings the two ends of twenty years together, with all the visions of the terrible and glorious, the touching and cheerful, that have occurred during that time.

“I came here to-night, fellow-citizens, to thank this General Assembly for their great act of confidence and compliment to me. I do not undervalue the office that you have tendered to me yesterday and to-day; but I say, I think, without any mental reservation, that the manner in which it was tendered to me is far higher to me, far more desirable, than the thing itself. That it has been a voluntary gift of the General Assembly of Ohio, without solicitation, tendered to me because of their confidence, is as touching and as high a tribute as one man can receive from his fellow-citizens, and in the name of all my friends, for myself, I give you my thanks.

“I recognize the importance of the place to which you have elected me; and I should be base if I did not also recognize the great man whom you have elected me to succeed. I say for him, Ohio has had few larger-minded, broader-minded men in the records of our history than that of Allen G. Thurman. Differing widely from him as I have done in politics, and do, I recognize him as a man high in character and great in intellect; and I take this occasion to refer to what I have never before referred to in public: that many years ago, in the storm of party fighting, when the air was filled with all sorts of missiles aimed at the character and reputation of public men, when it was even for his party interest to join the general clamor against me and my associates, Senator Thurman said in public, in the campaign, on the stump—when men are as likely to say unkind things as at any place in the world—a most generous and earnest word of defence and kindness for me, which I shall never forget so long as I live. I say, moreover, that the flowers that bloom over the garden-wall of party politics are the sweetest and most fragrant that bloom in the gardens of this world; and where we can fairly pluck them and enjoy their fragrance, it is manly and delightful to do so.

“And now, gentlemen of the General Assembly, without distinction of party, I recognize this tribute and compliment paid to me to-night. Whatever my own course may be in the future, a large share of the inspiration of my future public life will be drawn from this occasion and these surroundings, and I shall feel anew the sense of obligation that I feel to the State of

Ohio. Let me venture to point a single sentence in regard to that work. During the twenty years that I have been in public life, almost eighteen of it in the Congress of the United States, I have tried to do one thing. Whether I was mistaken or otherwise, it has been the plan of my life to follow my conviction at whatever personal cost to myself.

“I have represented for many years a district in Congress, whose approbation I greatly desired; but though it may seem, perhaps, a little egotistical to say it, I yet desired still more the approbation of one person, and his name was Garfield. He is the only man that I am compelled to sleep with, and eat with, and live with, and die with; and if I could not have his approbation I should have had companionship. And in this larger constituency which has called me to represent them now, I can only do what is true to my best self, applying the same rule.

“And if I should be so unfortunate as to lose the confidence of this larger constituency, I must do what every other fair-minded man has to do—carry his political life in his hand and would take the consequences. But I must follow what seems to me to be the only safe rule of my life; and with that view of the case, and with that much personal reference, I leave that subject.

“Thanking you again, fellow-citizens, members of the General Assembly, Republicans as well as Democrats—all party men as I am—thanking you both for what you have done and for this cordial and manly greeting, I bid you good-night.”

On the day of General Garfield's election to the Sen-

ate, President Hinsdale, of Hiram College. made the following announcement to the students of that institution :

"To-day a man will be elected to the United States Senate in Columbus, who, when a boy, was once the bell-ringer in this school and afterward its president. Feeling this, we ought, in some way, to recognize this step in his history. I will to-morrow morning call your attention to some of the more notable and worthy features of General Garfield's history and character."

The address which President Hinsdale delivered on the occasion is as follows :

"YOUNG LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am not going to attempt a formal address on the life and character of General Garfield. There is now no call for such an attempt, and I have made no adequate preparations for such a task. My object is far humbler: simply to hold up to your minds some points in his history, and some features in his character that young men and women may study with interest and profit.

"I shall begin by destroying history, or what is commonly held to be history. The popularly accepted account of General Garfield's history and character is largely fabulous. We are not to suppose that the ages of myth and legend are gone; under proper conditions such growths spring up now, and I know of no man in public life around whom they have sprung up more rankly than around the subject of my remarks.

"No doubt, you have seen some of the stories concerning him and his family that appear ever and anon in the newspapers; that his mother chopped cordwood: that

she fought wolves with fire to keep them from devouring her children, her distinguished son being one of the group; that the circumstances of the family were most pinching; that Garfield himself could not read at the age of twenty-one; that he was peculiarly reckless in his early life; that, when he had become a man, he went down from the pulpit to thrash a bully who interrupted him in his sermon on the patience of Job.

“These stories, and others like them, are all false and all harmful. They fail of accomplishing the very purpose for which they were professedly told—the stimulation of youth. To make the lives of the great distorted and monstrous is not to make them fruitful as lessons.

“If a life be anomalous and outlandish, it is, for that reason, the poorer example. It is all in the wrong direction. It makes the impression that, in human history, there is no cause and no effect; no antecedent and no consequent; that everything is capricious and fitful; and suggests that the best thing to do is to abandon one's self to the currents of life, trusting that some beneficent gulf-stream will seize you and bear you to some happy shore. No, young people, do not heed such instruction as this.

“The best lives for them to study are those that are natural and symmetrical; those in which the relation between cause and effect is so close and apparent that the dullest can see it; and that preach in the plainest terms the sermon on the text: ‘Whatever a man soweth that shall he also reap.’

“Irregular and abnormal lives will do for ‘studies, but healthy, normal, harmonious lives should be chosen for example. And General Garfield's life from the first

has been eminently healthy, normal, and well-proportioned.

"He was born in the woods of Orange, Cuyahoga County, in 1831. His father died when the son was a year and a half old. Abram Garfield's circumstances were those of his neighbors. Measured by our standard they were all poor; they lived on small farms, for which they had gone in debt, hoping to clear and pay for them by their toil. Garfield dying, left his wife and four young children in the condition that any one of his neighbors would have done in like circumstances—poor. The family life before had been close and hard enough; now it became closer and harder.

"Grandma Garfield, as some of us familiarly call her, was a woman of unusual energy, faith, and courage. She said the children should not be separated, but kept them together; and that the home should be maintained, as when its head was living. The battle was a hard one, and she won it. All honor to her, but let us not make her ridiculous by inventing impossible stories.

"To external appearance, young Garfield's life did not differ materially from the lives of the neighbors' boys.

"He chopped wood, and so did they; he mowed, and so did they; he carried butter to the store in a little pail, and so did they. Other families that had not lost their heads naturally shot ahead of the Garfields in property; but such differences counted far less then than they do now. The traits of his maturer character appeared early; studiousness, truthfulness, generosity of nature, and mental power. So far was he from being reckless, that he was almost serious, reverent, and thoughtful. So far was

he from being unable to read at twenty-one; that he was a teacher in the district schools before he was eighteen.

“He was the farthest removed from being a pugilist, though he had great physical strength and courage, coolness of mind, was left-handed withal, and was both able and disposed to defend himself and all his rights, and did so on due occasion.

“His three months’ service on the canal has been the source of numerous fables and morals. The morals are as false as the fables, and more misleading. All I have to say about it is: James A. Garfield has not risen to the position of a United States Senator because he ‘ran on a canal.’ Nor is it because he chopped more wood than the neighbors’ boys. Many a man has run longer on the canal, and chopped more wood, and never became a senator.

“General Garfield once rang the school bell when a student here. That did not make him the man he is. Convince me that it did, and I will hang up a bell in every tree in the campus, and set you all to ringing. Thomas Corwin, when a boy, drove a wagon, and became the head of the Treasury; Thomas Ewing boiled salt, and became a senator; Henry Clay rode a horse to mill from the ‘Slashes,’ and he became the great commoner of the West. But it was not the wagon, the salt, and horse that made these men great.

“These are interesting facts in the lives of these illustrious men; they show, that in our country it has been, and still is possible for young men of ability, energy, and determined purpose to rise above a lowly condition, and win places of usefulness and honor. Poverty

may be a good school; straitened circumstances may develop power and character; but the principal conditions of success are in the man, and not in his surroundings.

“Garfield is the man he is because nature gave him a noble endowment of faculties that he has nobly handled. We must look within, and not without, for the secret of destiny. The thing to look at in a man’s life are his aspirations, his energy, his courage, his strength of will, and not the wood he may have chopped, or the salt he may have boiled. How a man works, and not what he does, is the test of worth.

“His success did not lie in his technical scholarship, or his ability as a drill-master. Teachers are plenty who much surpass him in these particulars. He had great ability to grasp a subject, to organize a body of intellectual materials, to amass facts and work out striking generalizations, and therefore he excelled in rhetorical exposition. An old pupil who has often heard him on the stump, once told me, ‘The General succeeds best when talking to the people just as he did to his class.’ He imparted to his pupils largeness of view, enthusiasm, and called out of them unbounded devotion to himself.

“This devotion was not owing to any plan or trick, but to the qualities of the man. Mr. H. M. Jones, of the Cleveland schools, an old Hiram scholar, speaking of the old Hiram days before Garfield went to college, once wrote me: ‘There began to grow up in me an admiration and love for Garfield that has never abated, and the like of which I have never known. A bow of recognition, or a simple word from him, was to me an inspiration.’

“Probably all were not equally susceptible, but all the boys who were long under his charge (save perhaps, a few ‘sticks’), would speak in the same strain. He had great power to energize young men. General Garfield has carried the same qualities into public life. He has commanded success. His ability, knowledge, mastery of questions, generosity of nature, devotion to the public good, and honesty of purpose, have done the work. He has never had a political ‘machine.’ He has never forgotten the day of small things. He has never made personal enemies.

“It is difficult to see how a political triumph could be more complete or more gratifying than his election to the Senate. No ‘bar-gains,’ no ‘slate,’ no ‘grocery’ at Columbus. He did not even go to the capital city. Such things are inspiring to those who think politics in a broad way. He is a man of positive convictions, freely uttered. Politically he may be called a ‘man-of-war;’ and yet few men, or none, begrudge him his triumph. Democrats vied with Republicans the other day in Washington in snowing him under with congratulations; some of them were as anxious for his election as any Republican could be.

“It is said that he will go to the Senate without an enemy on either side of the chamber. These things are honorable to all parties. They show that manhood is more than party. The Senator is honored, Ohio is honored, and so is the school in Hiram, with which he was connected so many years. The whole story abounds in interest, and I hope I have so told it as to bring out some of its best points, and to give you stimulus and cheer.”

General Garfield took an active part in the regular session of the forty-sixth Congress, which met in December, 1879, and on the 17th of March, 1880, delivered one of his most powerful speeches. The Civil Appropriation Bill was under discussion, and the Democratic majority was endeavoring to force the Government into removing the United States marshals from the polls at elections, by refusing the appropriation for the pay of those officers. General Garfield said :

“The discussion of this bill has concentrated upon two topics—the public printing and the election laws. On the subject of the public printing I shall take no time, except to say this : After one of the saddest histories in the experience of this Government with the old contract system, which broke down by the weight of its own corruption, it was developed and proved beyond any controversy that in the four years preceding the administration of Abraham Lincoln, out of the private profits on the public printing and binding, the sum of \$100,000 was contributed by the public printer for political purposes, mainly to carry the Democratic elections in Pennsylvania; and that vast contribution did not exhaust the profits of the public printer out of the Government. This exposure destroyed the wretched contract system, and thereafter the Government itself assumed the responsibility of the work. At first the Senate or the House of Representatives elected a Printer, as they had a manifest right to do under the clause of the Constitution which gives each House the power to elect its own officers. But when, by and by, the office grew into a great national establishment, in which all the printing and binding for

all departments of the Government was done, it became manifest that the Senate was exercising a power of appointment unwarranted by the Constitution; and in the year 1874, on motion of Mr. Hale, of New York, a resolution was adopted by a two-thirds vote suspending the rules of the House and making in order on a sundry civil service appropriation bill an amendment to change the law and make the Printer an officer of the United States, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. I had charge of that bill and voted for the amendment, as did nearly all my associates, and it was adopted by the almost unanimous vote of this House, both parties uniting in declaring that the old law was unconstitutional, and that experience had proved it unwise; Republicans taking their share of responsibility for their own blunders and mistakes; all agreeing that the law ought to conform to the Constitution.

“When the Democratic party came into power in 1876, they amended that law by making it take effect immediately. We made it take effect when a vacancy should occur in the office of Public Printer. In 1876 the law was so changed as to make it take effect immediately. And that passed by the general consent of both parties. The proposition now is, to go back, and in the face of our past experience, make a change in this law which will not affect in any way the question of economy, which will not change one iota of the machinery of the management of the public printing, and does not pretend to be in the direction of economy; but merely abolishes a constitutional office and creates an unconstitutional one, takes the appointing power out of the hands of the President and

unlawfully places it in the hands of this House, merely to get some Democrat into office. This is to be done for no public good, to satisfy the demands of party hunger. I have no doubt that this amendment will be, as it certainly ought to be, ruled out of order, and I will waste no further words in discussing it.

CONTEMNING THE SUPREME COURT DECISION.

“I will now call attention, during the short time left me, to what I consider a matter of far greater moment. My colleague [Mr. McMahon], in his speech opening the discussion upon this bill, made the announcement in substance, and it remains uncontradicted and not protested against by anyone on this side of the House, first, that ‘we have not hitherto made, do not in this bill, and will not in any future bill, make any appropriation whatever for supervisors or special deputy marshals, so far as they have to do with congressional elections.’ He asserts that it was not proper for any officer of the Government to appoint special deputy marshals when no appropriation had been made for that specific purpose.

“Then, further on, he declares—I quote from his printed speech :

“ ‘And I desire to say that because the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the election law is constitutional by a sort of eight-by-seven decision—and I mean by that a division apparently according to party lines (without impugning the good faith of any member of the Supreme Court, but to show how differently a legal

question may appear to persons who have been educated in different political schools)—that although that court has decided the constitutionality of the law, that when we come, as legislators, to appropriate money, it is our duty to say, is this law constitutional? or, if constitutional, is it a good law, and are we bound to appropriate money for it?’

“He undertakes, as will be seen, to throw contempt on that decision by styling it ‘a sort of eight-by-seven decision.’ I remind him that it is a seven-to-two decision, having been adopted by a larger number of the members of the court than the majority of the decisions of that tribunal. It is a decision of a broad, sweeping character, and declares that Congress may take the whole control of congressional elections, or a partial control, as they choose; that the election law as it stands on the national statute-book is the supreme law of the land on that subject.

“More than that: the Supreme Court, not only in this case but in another recent case, has made a declaration which ought to be engraven upon the minds and hearts of all the people of this country. And this is its substance :

“‘That a law of Congress interpenetrates and becomes a part of every law of every State of this Union to which its subject matter is applicable, and is binding upon all people on every foot of our soil. This is the voice of the Constitution.’

“Now, therefore, under this decision the election laws of the United States are the laws of every State of this Union. No judge of election, no State officer or other

persons connected with any congressional election, no elector who offers his ballot at any such election, can with impunity lift his hand or do any act against any of the provisions of these laws. They rest down upon congressional elections upon every State like the 'casing air,' broad and general, protecting with their dignity every act, and penetrating with their authority every function of congressional elections. They are the supreme law of the land on that subject.

"But now a Representative, speaking for the Democratic party in this House, rises, not with the plea which he could have made with some show of plausibility last year, that the law is unconstitutional, and that therefore they would not enforce it—but with a constitutional law, declared so by the Supreme Court, covering him and filling the Republic from end to end, reaching everywhere and covering every foot of our soil where a congressional election can be held—he rises in his place and declares that the Democratic party will not execute that law nor permit it to be obeyed.

"We who are the sworn law-makers of the nation, and ought to be examples of respect for and obedience to the law—we who before we took our first step in legislation swore before God and our country that we would support the supreme law of the land—we are now invited to become conspicuous leaders in the violation of the law. My colleague announces his purpose to break the law, and invites Congress to follow him in his assault upon it.

"Mr. Chairman, by far the most formidable danger that threatens the Republic to-day is the spirit of law-

breaking which shows itself in many turbulent and alarming manifestations. The people of the Pacific Coast, after two years of wrestling with the spirit of communism in the city of San Francisco, have finally grappled with this lawless spirit, and the leader of it was yesterday sentenced to penal servitude as a violator of the law. But what can we say to Dennis Kearney and his associates if to-day we announce ourselves the foremost law-breakers of the country and set an example to all the turbulent and vicious elements of disorder to follow us?

THE ELECTION LAWS MANDATORY.

“My colleague [Mr. McMahon] tries to shield his violation of the law behind a section of the statutes which provides that no disbursing or other officer shall make any contract involving the expenditure of money beyond what is appropriated for the purpose. I answer that I hold in my hand a later law, a later statute, which governs the restrictive law of which he speaks, which governs him and governs the courts. It is the election law itself. I invite attention briefly to its substance. Sections 2011 and 2012 of the Revised Statutes provide that upon the application of any two citizens of any city of more than twenty thousand inhabitants to have the election guarded and scrutinized, the judge of the circuit court of the United States shall hold his court open during the ten days preceding the election. The law commands the judge of the court to so do.

“In the open court from day to day, and from time to time, the judge shall appoint, and, under the seal of

the court, shall commission two citizens of different political parties who are voters within the precinct where they reside, to be supervisors of the election. That law is mandatory upon the judge. Should he refuse to obey he can be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors in office. He must not stop to inquire whether an appropriation has been made to pay these supervisors. The rights of citizens are involved; upon their application the judge must act. But what then?

“Again, section 2021 provides that on the application of two citizens the marshal of the United States shall appoint special deputy marshals to protect the supervisors in the execution of their duty. And the law is mandatory upon the marshal. He must obey it under the pains and penalties of the law. What then? When the supervisors and special deputy marshals have been appointed they find their duties plainly prescribed in the law. And then section 5521 provides that if they neglect or refuse to perform fully all these duties enjoined upon them, they are liable to fine and imprisonment. They cannot excuse their neglect by saying, ‘We will not act because Congress has not appropriated the money to pay us.’

“All these officers are confronted by the imperial command of the law—first to the judge and marshal to appoint, then to the supervisor and deputy marshal to act, and to act under the pains and penalties of fine and imprisonment. Impeachment enforces the obedience of the judge; fine and imprisonment the obedience of the supervisors and deputy marshals.

“Now comes one other mandatory order: in the last

section of this long chapter of legislation the majestic command of the law is addressed both to Congress and the Treasury. It declares that there 'shall be paid' out of the treasury five dollars per day to these officers as compensation for their services. Here, too, the law is equally imperious and mandatory; it addresses itself to the conscience of every member of this House, with only this difference: we cannot be impeached for disobedience; we cannot be fined or locked up in the penitentiary for voting 'no,' and refusing the appropriation; we cannot be fined or imprisoned if we refuse to do our duty. And so, shielded by the immunity of his privilege as a representative, my colleague sets the example to all officers and all people of deliberately and with clear-sighted purpose violating the law of the land.

"Thus he seeks to nullify the law. Thus he hopes to thwart the nation's 'collected will.' Does my colleague reflect that in doing this he runs the risk of vitiating every national election? Suppose his lead be followed, and the demand of citizens for supervisors and marshals is made and refused because an appropriation has not been voted. Does he not see the possibility of vitiating every election held where fraud and violence are not suppressed and the law has not been complied with? Yet he would risk the validity of all the congressional elections of the United States; rather than abandon his party's purpose he would make Congress the chief of the law breakers of the land.

"Mr. Chairman, when I took my seat as a member of this House, I took it with all the responsibilities which the place brought upon me; and among others was my

duty to keep the obligations of the law. Where the law speaks in mandatory terms to everybody else and then to me, I should deem it cowardly and dishonorable if I should skulk behind my legislative privilege for the purpose of disobeying and breaking the supreme law of the land. [Applause.]

THE PRESENT ISSUE.

“The issue now made is somewhat different from that of the last session, but, in my judgment, it is not less significant and dangerous. I would gladly waive any party advantage which this controversy might give for the sake of that calm and settled peace which would reign in this hall if we all obeyed the law. But if the leaders on the other side are still determined to rush upon their fate by forcing upon the country this last issue—that because the Democratic party happen not to like a law they will not obey it—because they happen not to approve of the spirit and character of a law they will not let it be executed—I say to gentlemen on the other side, if you are determined to make such an issue, it is high time that the American people should know it.

“Here is the volume of our laws. More sacred than the twelve tables of Rome, this rock of the law rises in monumental grandeur alike above the people and the President, above the courts, above Congress, commanding everywhere reverence and obedience to its supreme authority. Yet the dominant party in this House virtually declares that ‘any part of this volume that we do

not like and cannot repeal we will disobey. We have tried to repeal these election laws; we have failed because we had not the constitutional power to destroy them. The Constitution says they shall stand in their authority and power; but we, the Democratic party in defiance of the Constitution, declare that if we cannot destroy them outright by the repeal, they shall be left to crumble into ruin by wanton and lawless neglect.'

"Mr. Chairman.—I ask gentlemen on the other side whether they wish to maintain this attitude in regard to the legislation of this country? Are they willing to start on a hunt through the statutes and determine for themselves what they will obey and what they will disobey? That is the meaning of my colleague's speech. If it means anything it means that. He is not an old Brandenburg elector, but an elector in this novel and modern sense, that he will elect what laws he will obey and what he will disobey, and in so far as his power can go, he will infect with his spirit of disobedience all the good people of this country who trust him.

THE DANGER OF EXAMPLE OF DISOBEDIENCE.

"I ask, gentlemen, whether this is a time when it is safe to disregard and weaken the authority of law. In all quarters the civil society of this country is becoming honey-combed through and through by disintegrating forces—in some States by the violation of contracts and the repudiation of debts; in others by open resistance and defiance; in still others by the reckless overturning of con-

stitutions and letting 'the red fool-fury of the Seine' run riot among our people and build its blazing altars to the strange gods of ruin and misrule. All these things are shaking the good order of society and threatening the foundations of our government and our peace. In a time like this, more than ever before, this country needs a body of law-givers clothed and in their right minds, who have laid their hands upon the altar of the law as its defenders, not its destroyers. And yet now, in the name of party, for some supposed party advantage, my colleague from Ohio announces, and no one on his side has said him nay, that they not only have not in the past obeyed, but in the future they will not obey this law of the land which the Supreme Court has just crowned with the authority of its sanction. If my colleague chooses to meet that issue, if he chooses to go to the country with that plea, I shall regret it deeply for my country's sake; but if I looked only to my party's interest, it would give me joy to engage in such a struggle.

"The contest of last autumn made the people understand the tendencies of gentlemen on the other side. Now, this cool, calm, deliberate assassination of the law will not be tolerated. We have had a winter to freeze out our passion, we have had a summer to thaw out our indifference, we have had the changing circles of the year to bring us around to order and calmness, and yet all the fiery courses of the stars seem to have shed their influence on my colleague to fire him with a more desperate madness and drive his party on to a still sadder fate. [Applause on the Republican side.]

"I trust and believe that we may yet find some re-

sponse from the other side of the House that will prevent this course of procedure. If we do, I will gladly give away any party advantage for the sake of strengthening the foundations of law and good order. And I therefore appeal to gentlemen on the other side to prevent a disaster which their party leaders are preparing, not for themselves alone, but for our common country. I hope before this day is over we may see such a vote in this chamber upon this bill as will put an end to this miserable business, and cast out of these halls the dregs of that unfortunate and crazy extra session." [Applause on the Republican side.]

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S FINANCIAL RECORD.

General Garfield's Appointment to the Committee on Banking and Currency

—His Efforts in Congress in behalf of Honest Money—A Formal Statement of his Views on the Money Question—The Currency Doctrine of 1862—Definition of Money—Money as an Instrument of Exchange—Coin as an Instrument of Universal Credit—Statutes cannot Repeal the Laws of Value—Paper Money as an Instrument of Credit—Necessity of Resumption—A Powerful Argument—General Garfield's Speech on the Weaver Resolutions.

IN 1868, General Garfield was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and during the same Congress did most of the hard work on the Ninth Census. His financial views, always sound, and based on the firm foundation of honest money and unsullied national honor, had now become strengthened by his studies and investigations, and he was recognized as the best authority in the House on the great subjects of the debt and the currency. His record in the legislation concerning these subjects is without a flaw. No man in Congress made a more consistent and unwavering fight against the paper money delusions that flourished during the decade following the war, and in favor of specie payments and the strict fulfilment of the nation's obligations to its creditors. His speeches became the financial gospel of the Republican party. No man gave more ar-

dent and useful support to the policy of resuming specie payments, and no man in Congress contributed more in bringing it about.

One of the most carefully prepared expressions of his views on the financial question was contributed by him to *The Atlantic Monthly*, in February, 1876. It is a paper of the highest importance, and we give it in full. He styles it "The Currency Conflict," and says:

"In the autumn of 1862, I spent several weeks with Secretary Chase, and was permitted to share his studies of the financial questions which were then engrossing his attention. He was preparing to submit to Congress his matured plans for a system of banking and currency to meet the necessities of the war, and this subject formed the chief theme of his conversation. He was specially anxious to work out in his own mind the probable relations of greenbacks to gold, to the five-twenty bonds, to the proposed national bank notes, and to the business of the country.

"One evening the conversation turned on some question relating to the laws of motion, and Mr. Chase asked for a definition of motion. Some one answered 'Matter is inert, spirit alone can move; therefore motion is the Spirit of God made manifest in matter.' The Secretary said, 'If that is a good definition, then legal tender notes must be the devil made manifest in paper; for no man can foresee what mischief they may do when they are once let loose.' He gravely doubted whether that war-born spirit, summoned to serve us in a dreadful emergency, would be mustered out of service with honor when the conflict should end, or, at the return of peace, would cap-

ture public opinion and enslave the nation it had served. To what extent his fears were well founded may be ascertained by comparing the present state of the public mind in regard to the principles of monetary science with that which prevailed when our existing financial machinery was set up.

“More than a million votes will be cast at the next Presidential election by men who were school-boys in their primers when the great financial measures of 1862 were adopted ; and they do not realize how fast or how far the public mind has drifted. The log-book of this extraordinary voyage cannot be read too often. Let it be constantly borne in mind that fourteen years ago the American people considered themselves well instructed in the leading doctrines of monetary science. They had enjoyed, or rather suffered, an extraordinary experience. There was hardly an experiment in banking and currency that they or their fathers had not fully tested.

THE CURRENCY DOCTRINES OF 1862.

“The statesmen of that period, the leaders of public thought, and the people of all political parties were substantially unanimous in the opinion that the only safe instrument of exchange known among men was standard coin, or paper convertible into coin at the will of the holder.

“I will not affirm that this opinion was absolutely unanimous ; for doubtless there was here and there a dreamer who looked upon paper money as a sort of fetic, and was ready to crown it as a god. There are always a

few who believe in the quadrature of the circle and the perpetual motion. I recently met a cultivated American who is a firm believer in Buddha, and rejoices in the hope of attaining Nirvâna beyond the grave. The gods of Greece were discrowned and disowned by the civilized world a thousand years ago; yet within the last generation an eminent English scholar attested his love for classical learning and his devotion to the Greek mythology by actually sacrificing a bull to Jupiter, in the back parlor of his house, in London. So, in 1862, there may have been followers of William Lowndes and of John Law among our people, and here and there a philosopher who dreamed of an ideal standard of value stripped of all the grossness of so coarse and vulgar a substance as gold. But they dwelt apart in silence, and their opinions made scarce a ripple on the current of public thought.

“No one can read the history of that year without observing the great reluctance, the apprehension, the positive dread with which the statesmen and people of that day ventured upon the experiment of making treasury notes a legal tender for private debts. They did it under the pressure of an overmastering necessity, to meet the immediate demands of the war, and with a most determined purpose to return to the old standard at the earliest possible moment. Indeed, the very act that made the greenbacks a legal tender provided the effective means for retiring them.

“Distressing as was the crisis, urgent as was the need, a large number of the best and most patriotic men in Congress voted against the act. The ground of their opposition was well expressed by Owen Lovejoy, of Illi-

nois, who, after acknowledging the unparalleled difficulties and dangers of the situation, said, 'There is no precipice, there is no chasm, there is no possible bottomless, yawning gulf before the nation so appalling, so ruinous, as this same bill that is before us.'

"Of those who supported the measure, not one defended it as a permanent policy. All declared that they did not abate a jot of their faith in the soundness of the old doctrines.

"Thaddeus Stevens said, 'This bill is a measure of necessity, not of choice. No one would willingly issue paper currency not redeemable on demand, and make it a legal tender. It is never desirable to depart from the circulating medium which, by the common consent of civilized nations, forms the standard of value.'

"In the Senate the legal-tender clause was adopted by only five majority. The senators who supported it were keenly alive to its dangerous character. Mr. Fessenden, chairman of the committee of finance, said of the bill, 'It proposes something utterly unknown in this government from its foundation: a resort to a measure of doubtful constitutionality, to say the least of it, which has always been denounced as ruinous to the credit of any government which has recourse to it; . . . a measure which, when it has been tried by other countries, as it often has been, has always proved a disastrous failure.'

"With extreme reluctance he supported the bill, but said the committee was bound 'that an assurance should be given to the country that it was to be resorted to only as a *policy*; that it was what it professed to be, but a *temporary measure*. I have not heard any man ex-

press a contrary opinion, or, at least, any man who has spoken on the subject in Congress. . . . All the gentlemen who have written on the subject, except some wild speculators on currency, have declared that as a policy it would be ruinous to any people; *and it has been defended, as I have stated, simply and solely upon the ground that it is to be a single measure standing alone, and not to be repeated.* . . . It is put upon the ground of *absolute, overwhelming necessity.*

“Mr. Sumner, who supported the bill, said: ‘Surely we must all be against paper money, we must insist upon maintaining the integrity of the Government, and we must all set our faces against any proposition like the present except as a temporary expedient, rendered imperative by the exigency of the hour. . . . A remedy which at another moment you would reject is now proposed. Whatever may be the national resources, they are not now in reach except by summary process. Reluctantly, painfully, I consent that the process should issue. And yet I cannot give such a vote without warning the Government against the dangers from such an experiment. The medicine of the constitution must not become its daily bread.’

“Such was the unanimous sentiment which animated Congress in making its solemn pledge to return to the old path as soon as the immediate danger should pass.

“The close of the war revealed some change of opinion, but the purpose of 1862 was still maintained. December 14, 1865, the House of Representatives resolved—

“That the House cordially concurs in the views of

the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the necessity of a contraction of the currency with a view to as early a resumption of specie payments as the business interest of the country will permit; and we hereby pledge co-operative action to this end as speedily as practicable.

“ This resolution was adopted on a call of the ayes and noes, by the decisive vote of one hundred and forty-four to six.

“ The last ten years have witnessed such a change of sentiment as seldom occurs in one generation. During that time, we have had a Babel of conflicting theories. Every exploded financial dogma of the last two hundred years has been revived and advocated. Congresses and political parties have been agitated and convulsed by the discussion of old and new schemes to escape from the control of the universal laws of value, and to reach prosperity and wealth without treading the time-worn path of honest industry and solid values. All this recalls Mr. Chase's definition of irredeemable paper money.

“ The great conflict of opinion resulting from this change of sentiment finds expression in the cries of ‘ hard money ’ and ‘ soft money ’ which have been so constantly echoed from State to State during the last six months. Following these, as rallying-cries, the people are assembled in hostile political camps, from which they will soon march out to fight the Presidential battle of 1876.

“ The recently invented term ‘ soft money ’ does not convey a very precise notion of the doctrine it is in-

tended to describe. In fact, it is applied to the doctrines of several distinct groups of theorists, who differ widely among themselves, but who all agree in opposing a return to specie as the basis of our monetary system.

“The scope of these opinions will be seen in the declarations which recent public discussions have brought forth.

(1.) Most of the advocates of soft money deny that political economy is a universal science. They insist that each nation should have a political economy of its own. In pursuance of this opinion, they affirm that our country should have a standard of value peculiar to itself, and a circulating medium which other nations will not use; in short, a non-exportable currency.

“‘Beyond the sea, in foreign lands, it [our greenback currency] fortunately is not money; but, sir, when have we had such an unbroken career of prosperity in business as since we adopted this non-exportable currency?’—(Hon. W. D. Kelley.)

“‘Money should be a thing of or belonging to a country, not of the world. An exportable commodity is not fitted to be money.’—(Quoted as a motto by Henry Carey Baird.)

“‘I desire the dollar to be made of such material that it shall never be exported or desirable to carry it out of the country.’—(Hon. B. F. Butler, Cooper Institute, October 15, 1875.)

“‘The venerable Henry C. Carey, under date of August 15, 1875, addressed a long letter to the chairman of the Detroit Greenback Convention, in which he argues that this country ought to maintain permanently

a non-exportable circulation.' He says, 'This important idea was first promulgated by Mr. Rauget, thirty-six years ago.'

"I will quote one other financial authority, which shows that the honor of this discovery does not belong to Rauget, nor to the present century. In his work entitled 'Money and Trade Considered : with a Proposal for Supplying the Nation with Money,' published at Edinburgh, 1705, John Law says :

"'If a money be established that has no intrinsic value, and its extrinsic value be such as it will not be exported, nor will not be less than the demand for it within the country, wealth and power will be attained, and will be less precarious. . . . The paper money herein proposed being always equal in quantity to the demand, the people will be employed, the country improved, manufacture advanced, trade—domestic and foreign—carried on, and wealth and power attained ; and [it] not being liable to be exported, the people will not be set idle, etc., and wealth and power will be less precarious.'

"The subsequent experiments of Law are fitting commentaries.

"(2.) They propose to abandon altogether the use of gold and silver as standards of value or instruments of exchange, and hold that the stamp of the government, not the value of the material on which it is impressed, constitutes money:

"'I want the dollar stamped on some convenient and cheap material, of the least possible intrinsic value, . . . and I desire that the dollar so issued shall never be redeemed.'—(Hon. B. F. Butler, Cooper Institute.)

“ ‘A piece of pig-metal is just as much money as a piece of gold, until the public authority has stamped it and said that it shall be taken for so much. . . . Suppose, then, that instead of taking a bar of silver or a bar of pig-metal, the government of the United States takes a piece of paper, called a greenback, and says that this shall pass for a legal tender in the receipt and expenditure of government dues, and in all the transactions of the people. Suppose this government to be a government of good standing, of sound credit, and responsible for its paper. This dollar thus stamped, instead of a piece of metal being stamped, is to all intents and purposes equivalent to a silver dollar when it has been made such by the government of the United States.’—(Campaign speech of Governor Allen, Gallipolis, Ohio, July 21, 1875.)

“ ‘The use of gold or other merchandise as money is a barbarism unworthy of the age.’—(Wallace P. Groom, New York.)

“ ‘The pretense of redemption in gold and silver is of necessity a delusion and an absurdity.’—(Britton A. Hill, Missouri.)

“ ‘The government can make money of any material and of any shape and value it pleases.’—(Hon. O. S. Halstead, New Jersey.)

“(3.) They are not agreed among themselves as to what this new soft money shall be. They do agree, however, that the national banking system shall be abolished, and that whatever currency may be adopted shall be issued directly from the treasury, as the only money of the nation. Three forms are proposed :—

“First. The legal tenders we now have, their volume to be increased and their redemption indefinitely postponed. The advocates of this form are the inflationists proper, who care more for the volume than the character of the currency.

“Second. ‘Absolute money ;’ that is, printed pieces of paper, called dollars, to be the only standard of value, the only legal tender for all debts, public and private, the only circulating medium. The advocates of this kind of ‘money,’ though few in number, claim the highest place as philosophers.

“The ablest defence of this doctrine will be found in a *brochure* of one hundred and eighteen pages, by Britton A. Hill, published in St. Louis during the present year and entitled ‘Absolute Money.’ The author says (page 53):

“‘If such national legal-tender money is not of itself sovereign and absolute, but must be convertible into some other substance or thing, before it can command universal circulation, what matters it whether that other substance or thing be interest-bearing bonds or gold or silver coin? . . . The coin despotism cannot be broken by substituting in its place the despotism of interest-bearing bonds.’

“Third. A legal-tender note not redeemable, but exchangeable, at the will of the holder, for a bond of the United States bearing 3.65 per cent. interest, which bond shall in turn be exchangeable, at the will of the holder, for legal-tender notes. In order that this currency shall be wholly emancipated from the tyranny and barbarism of gold and silver, most of its advocates insist

that the interest on the bonds shall be paid in the proposed paper money. This financial perpetual motion is regarded as the great discovery of our era, and there are numerous claimants for the honor of being the first to discover it.

“Mr. Wallace P. Groom, of New York, has characterized this currency in a paragraph which has been so frequently quoted, that it may be fairly called their creed. It is in these words :

“‘In the interchangeability (at the option of the holder) of *national paper money* with government bonds bearing a fixed rate of interest, there is a subtle principle that will regulate the movements of finance and commerce as accurately as the motion of the steam-engine is regulated by its governor. Such PAPER MONEY TOKENS would be much nearer perfect measures of value than gold or silver ever have been or ever can be. The use of gold or other merchandise as money is a barbarism unworthy of the age.’

“(4.) The paper money men are unanimous in the opinion that the financial crisis of 1873 was caused by an insufficient supply of currency, and that a large increase will stimulate industry, restore prosperity, and largely augment the wealth of this country.

“Hon. Alexander Campbell, of Illinois, a leading writer of the soft money school, thinks there should now be in circulation not less than \$1,290,000,000 of legal-tender notes. (*North-Western Review*, November, 1873, page 152.)

“John G. Drew, another prominent writer, insists that ‘as England is an old and settled country, and we

are just building ours,' we ought to have at least \$60 *per capita*, or an aggregate of \$2,500,000,000.—(' Our Currency : What it is and what it should be.')

"No doubt the very large vote in Ohio and Pennsylvania in favor of soft money resulted, in great measure, from the depressed state of industry and trade, and a vague hope that the adoption of these doctrines would bring relief. The discussion in both States was able ; and toward the close of the campaign, it was manifest that sound principles were every day gaining ground. Important as was the victory in those States, it is a great mistake to suppose that the struggle is ended. The advocates of soft money are determined and aggressive, and they confidently believe they will be able to triumph in 1876.

"It ought to be observed, as an interesting fact of current history, that the soft money men are making and collecting a literature which cannot fail to delight the antiquarian and the reader of curiosities of literature. They are ransacking old libraries to find any

"Quaint and curious
Volume of forgotten lore"

which may give support to their opinions. In a recent pamphlet, Henry Carey Baird refers to Andrew Yarranton 'as the father of English political economy.' The forgotten treatise which is now enrolled among the patristic books of the new school was published in London in 1677, and is entitled, 'England's Improvement by Sea and Land. To outdo the Dutch without Fighting, to pay Debts without Moneys, and to set at work all the Poor of England with the Growth of our own Lands.'

“The author proposes a public bank, based on the registered value of houses and lands, ‘the credit whereof making paper go in trade equal with ready money, yea better, in many parts of the world than money.’ He was perhaps the first Englishman who suggested a currency based on land. On pages 30–33 of his book may be found his draft of a proposed law, which provides ‘that all bonds or bills issued on such registered houses may be transferable, and shall pass and be good from man to man in the nature of bills of exchange.’

“The writings of John Law are also finding vigorous defenders. Britton A. Hill, in the pamphlet already quoted, devotes a chapter to his memory, compares him favorably with Leibnitz and Newton, and says, ‘John Law is justly regarded as one of the most profound thinkers of his age, in that he originated the first fundamental principle of this proposed absolute money.’ The admirers of ‘father’ Yarranton should see to it that the outdoer of the Dutch is not robbed of his honors by the great Scotsman.

“English history is being hunted through to find some comfort for the new doctrines in the writings of that small minority who resisted the Bullion Report of 1810 and the resumption of cash payments in 1819, and continued to denounce them afterwards. History must be rewritten. We must learn that Mathias Attwood (who?), not Lord Liverpool, Huskisson, or Peel, was the fountain of financial wisdom. Doubleday, whom no English writer has thought it worth while to answer, is much quoted by the new school, and they have lately come to feel the profoundest respect for Sir Archibald

Alison, because of his extravagant assault upon the Resumption Act of 1819. Alison holds a place in English literature chiefly because he wrote a work which fills a gap in English history not otherwise filled.

"In 1845 he wrote a pamphlet entitled 'England in 1815 and 1845; or, a Sufficient and Contracted Currency,' which the subsequent financial and commercial events in his country have so fully refuted that it has slept for a generation in the limbo of things forgotten. It is now unearthed, and finds an honored place in the new literature.

"As a specimen of Alison's financial wisdom, we quote the following (pages 2, 3): 'The eighteen years of war between 1797 and 1815 were, as all the world knows, the most glorious and, taken as a whole, the most prosperous that Great Britain has ever known. . . . Never has a prosperity so universal and unheard-of pervaded every department of the empire.' He then enumerates the evidences of this prosperity, and prominent among them is this: 'While the revenue raised by taxation was but £21,000,000 in 1796, it had reached £72,000,000 in 1815; and the total expenditures from taxes and loans had reached £117,000,000 in 1815.' Happy people, whose burdens of taxation were quadrupled in eighteen years, and whose expenses, consumed in war, exceeded their revenues by the sum of \$225,000,000 in gold!

"The inflationists have not been so fortunate in augmenting their literary store from the writings and speeches of our early American statesmen. Still, they have made vigorous efforts to draft into their service any isolated paragraph that can be made useful for their pur-

pose. So far as I have seen, they have found no comfort in this search except in very short extracts from three of the great leaders of public thought. The first is from a juvenile essay in defence of paper money, written by Benjamin Franklin in 1729, when he was twenty-two years of age. This has been frequently quoted during the last four years. They are not so fond of quoting Franklin, the statesman and philosopher, who after a lifelong experience wrote, in 1783, these memorable words :

“I lament with you the many mischiefs, the injustice, the corruption of manners, etc., that attend a depreciated currency. It is some consolation to me that I washed my hands of that evil by predicting it in Congress, and proposing means that would have been effectual to prevent it if they had been adopted. Subsequent operations that I have executed demonstrate that my plan was practicable but it was unfortunately rejected.’—(Works, x. 9.)

“A serious attempt has been made to capture Thomas Jefferson and bring him into the service. The following passage from one of his letters to John W. Eppes (Works, vi. 140) has been paraded through this discussion with all the emphasis of italics, thus :

“*Bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation to whom it belongs.* It is the only fund on which they can rely for loans ; it is the only resource which can never fail them, and it is an abundant one for every necessary purpose. *Treasury bills bottomed on taxes, bearing or not bearing interest, as may be found necessary, thrown into circulation, will take the place of so much gold or silver, which last, when*

crowded, will find an efflux into other countries, and thus keep the quantum of medium at its salutary level.'

"This passage was quoted as a strong point for the soft-money men in their campaign documents in Ohio, last fall. They did not find it convenient to quote the great Virginian more fully. When this letter was written, the United States was at war with England, with no friendly nation from whom to obtain loans. The demand for revenue was urgent, and the treasury was empty. Mr. Jefferson had long been opposed to the state banks, and he saw that by suppressing them and issuing treasury notes, with or without interest, the government could accomplish two things: destroy state bank currency, and obtain a forced loan, in the form of circulating notes. In enforcing this view, he wrote from Monticello to Mr. Eppes, June 24, 1813: 'I am sorry to see our loans begin at so exorbitant an interest. And yet, even at that, you will soon be at the bottom of the loan-bag. Ours is an agricultural nation. . . . In such a nation there is one and only one resource for loans, sufficient to carry them through the expense of a war; and that will always be sufficient, and in the power of an honest government, punctual in the preservation of its faith. The fund I mean is *the mass of circulating coin*. Every one knows that, although not literally, it is nearly true that every paper dollar emitted banishes a silver one from the circulation. A nation, therefore, making its purchases and payments with bills fitted for circulation, thrusts an equal sum of coin out of circulation. This is equivalent to borrowing that sum; and yet the vendor, receiving payment in a medium as effectual as coin for his purchases or pay-

ments, has no claim to interest. . . . In this way I am not without a hope that this great, this sole resource for loans in an agricultural country might yet be recovered for the use of the nation during war; and, if obtained *in perpetuum*, it would always be sufficient to carry us through any war, provided that in the interval between war and war all the outstanding paper should be called in, coin be permitted to flow in again, and to hold the field of circulation until another war should require its yielding place again to the national medium.'

"From this it appears that Jefferson favored the issue of treasury notes to help us through a war; but he insisted that they should be wholly retired on the return of peace. His three long letters to Eppes are full of powerful and eloquent denunciations of paper money. The soft money men appeal to Jefferson. We answer them in his own words: 'The truth is that capital may be produced by industry, and accumulated by economy; but jugglers only will propose to create it by legerdemain tricks of paper money.'—(Letter to Eppes, Works, vi. 239.)

"Their third attempt to elect some eminent statesman as an honorary member of the new school affords a striking illustration of a method too often adopted in our politics. It was very confidently stated by several advocates of soft money that John C. Calhoun had suggested that a paper money, issued directly by the government and made receivable for all public dues, would be as good a currency as gold and silver. Mr. Hill finally claimed Calhoun's authority in support of his absolute money, and printed on pages 56, 57 of his pam-

phlet a passage from a speech of Calhoun's. This extract was used in the Ohio campaign with much effect, until it was shown that there had been omitted from the passage quoted these important words: '*leaving its creditors to take it [treasury note circulation] or gold and silver at their option.*' After this exposure, the great nullifier was left out of the canvass.

"Thus far we have attempted no more than to exhibit the state of public opinion in regard to the currency in 1861-62, the changes that have since occurred, and the leading doctrines now held by the soft money men.

"Most of these dogmas are old, and have long ago been exploded. All are directly opposed to principles as well established as the theorems of Euclid.

THE DOCTRINE OF HARD MONEY.

"Believing that this generation of Americans is not willing to ignore all past experience, and to decide so great an issue as though it were now raised for the first time, we shall attempt to state, in brief compass, the grounds on which the doctrine of hard money rests.

"Hard money is not to be understood as implying a currency consisting of coin alone (though many have held, with Benton, that no other is safe), but that coin of ascertained weight and fineness, duly stamped and authenticated by the government, is the only safe standard of money; and that no form of credit-currency is safe unless it be convertible into coin at the will of the holder.

MONEY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF EXCHANGE.

“As preliminary to this discussion, it is necessary to determine the functions which money performs as an instrument of exchange. As barter was the oldest form of exchange, so it was and still is the ultimate object and result of all exchanges. For example: I wish to exchange my commodities or services for commodities or services of a different kind. I find no one at hand who has what I want, and wants what I have. I therefore exchange, or, as we say, sell, my commodities for money, which I hold until I find some one who wishes to sell what I want to buy. I then make the purchase. The two transactions have, in fact, resulted in a barter. It amounts to the same thing as though, at the start, I had found a man who wanted my commodities, and was willing to give me in exchange the commodities I desired. By a sale and a purchase I have accomplished my object. Money was the instrument by which the transactions were made. The great French economist, J. B. Say, has justly described a sale as half a barter, for we see, in the case above stated, that two sales were equivalent, in effect, to one act of simple barter. But some time may elapse between my sale and the subsequent purchase. How are my rights of property secured during the interval? That which I sold carried its value in itself as an exchangeable commodity; when I had exchanged it for money, and was waiting to make my purchase, the security for my property rested wholly in the money resulting from the sale. If that money be a perfect instrument of exchange, it must not only be the lawful measure of

that which I sold, but it must, of itself, be the actual *equivalent* in value. If its value depends upon the arbitrary acts of government or of individuals, the results of my transaction depend not upon the value of that which I sold nor of that which I bought, nor upon my prudence and skill, but upon an element wholly beyond my control—a medium of exchange which varies in value from day to day.

“Such being the nature of exchanges, we should expect to find that so soon as man begins to emerge from the most primitive condition of society and the narrowest circle of family life, he will seek a measure and an instrument of exchange among his first necessities. And in fact it is a matter of history that in the hunting state skins were used as money, because they were the product of chief value. In the pastoral state—the next advance in civilization—sheep and cattle, being the most valuable and negotiable form of property, were used as money. This appears in the earliest literature. In the Homeric poems oxen are repeatedly mentioned as the standard by which wealth was measured. The arms of Diomed were declared to be worth nine oxen, as compared with those of Glaucos, worth one hundred. A tripod, the first prize for wrestlers, in the twenty-third book of the Iliad was valued at twelve oxen, and a female captive, skilled in industry, at four.*

“In many languages the name for money is identical with that for some kind of cattle. Even our word ‘fee’ is said to be the Anglo-Saxon ‘feoh,’ meaning both money and cattle. Sir H. S. Maine, speaking of the primitive

* Jevon's “Money and the Mechanism of Exchange,” page 21.

state of society, says : ' Being counted by the head, the kine was called *capitale*, whence the economic term *capital*, the law term *chattel*, and our common name *cattle*.

" In the agricultural and manufacturing stage of civilization, many forms of vegetable and manufactured products were used as money, such as corn, wheat, tobacco, cacao-nuts, cubes of tea, colored feathers, shells, nails, etc.

" All these species of wealth were made instruments of exchange because they were easily transferable, and their value was the best known and least fluctuating. But the use of each as money was not universal ; in fact, was but little known beyond the bounds of a single nation. Most of them were non-exportable ; and though that fact would have commended them to the favor of some of our modern economists, yet the mass of mankind have entertained a different opinion, and have sought to find a medium whose value and fitness to be used as money would be universally acknowledged.

" It is not possible to ascertain when and by whom the precious metals were first adopted as money ; but for more than three thousand years they have been acknowledged as the forms of material wealth best fitted to be the measure and instrument of exchange. Each nation and tribe, as it has emerged from barbarism, has abandoned its local, non-exportable medium, and adopted what is justly called ' the money of the world.'

" Coinage was a later device, employed for the sole purpose of fashioning into a convenient shape the metal to be used as money, and of ascertaining and certifying officially the weight and fineness of each piece.

" And here has arisen the chief error in reference to

the nature of money. Because the government coins it, names its denomination, and declares its value, many have been led to imagine that the government creates it, that its value is a gift of the law.

“The analogy of other standards will aid us at this point. Our constitution empowers Congress to fix the standard of weights and measures, as well as of values. But Congress cannot create extension, or weight, or value. It can measure that which has extension; it can weigh that which is ponderable; it can declare and subdivide and name a standard; but it cannot make length of that which has no length; it cannot make weight of that which is imponderable; it cannot make value of that which has no value. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. The power of Congress to make anything it pleases receivable for taxes is a matter wholly distinct from the subject now under discussion. Legislation cannot make that a measure of value which neither possesses nor represents any definitely ascertained value.

COIN AN INSTRUMENT OF UNIVERSAL CREDIT.

“Now apply to the operations of exchange a given coin, whose weight and fineness are certified by public authority. We cannot do this better than by borrowing the language of Frederic Bastiat, found in his treatise entitled ‘*Maudit Argent*.’ He says :

“‘You have a crown. What does it signify in your hands? It is the testimony and the proof that you have at some time performed a work; and, instead of profiting by it yourself, you have allowed the community to enjoy it, in the person of your client. This crown is the evi-

dence that you have rendered a service to society; and it states the value of that service. Moreover, it is the evidence that you have not drawn from the community the real equivalent, as was your right. In order to enable you to exercise that right when and as you please, society, by the hand of your client, has given you a *recognition, a title, a bond of the commonwealth, a token, in short a crown*, which differs from other fiduciary titles only in this, that it carries its value in itself; and if you can read with the eyes of the mind the inscription which it bears, you will distinctly decipher these words: '*Render to the bearer a service equivalent to that which he has rendered to society; a value received, stated, proved, and measured by that which is in me.*' . . . If you now give that crown to me as the price of a service, this is the result: your account with society for real services is found regular, is balanced and closed, . . . and I am justly in the position where you were before.'

"Edmund Burke expressed the same opinion when he said, 'Gold and silver are the two great, recognized species that represent the lasting, conventional credit of mankind.'

"Three thousand years of experience have proved that the precious metals are the best materials of which to make the standard of value, the instrument of exchange. They are themselves a store of value; they are durable, divisible, easily transported, and more constant in value than any other known substances. In the form of dust and bars, as merchandise, their value is precisely equal to their declared value as money, less the very small cost of coinage. Coin made of these metals meas-

ures wealth, because it represents wealth in itself, just as the yard-stick measures length, and the standard pound measures weight, because each has, in itself, that which it represents.

“Again, the precious metals are products of labor, and their value, like that of all other merchandise, depends upon the cost of production. A coin represents and measures the labor required to produce it; it may be called an embodiment of labor. Of course this statement refers to the average cost of production throughout the world, and that average has varied but little for many centuries. It is a flat absurdity to assert that such a reality as labor can be measured and really represented by that which costs little or no labor. For these reasons the precious metals have been adopted by the common law of the world as the best materials in which to embody the unit of money.

STATUTES CANNOT REPEAL THE LAWS OF VALUE

“The oldest and perhaps the most dangerous delusion in reference to money is the notion that it is a creation of law; that its value can be fixed and maintained by authority. Yet no error has been more frequently refuted by experience. Every debasement of the coin, and every attempt to force its circulation at a higher rate than the market value of the metal it contains, has been punished by the inevitable disasters that always follow the violation of economic laws.

“The great parliamentary debate of 1695, on the recoinage of English money, affords an absolute demonstration of the truth that legislatures cannot repeal the laws

of value. Mr. Lowndes, the secretary of the treasury, though he held that a debasement of the coinage should be rejected as 'dangerous and dishonorable,' really believed, as did a large number of members of Parliament, that if, by law, they raised the name of the coin, they would raise its value as money. As Macaulay puts it,

He was not in the least aware that a piece of metal with the king's head on it was a commodity of which the price was governed by the same law which governs the price of a piece of metal fashioned into a spoon or a buckle ; and that it was no more in the power of Parliament to make the kingdom richer by calling a crown a pound than to make the kingdom larger by calling a furlong a mile. He seriously believed, incredible as it may seem, that if the ounce of silver were divided into seven shillings instead of five, foreign nations would sell us their wines and their silks for a smaller number of ounces. He had a considerable following, composed partly of dull men who really believed what he told them, and partly of shrewd men who were perfectly willing to be authorized by law to pay a hundred pounds with eighty.'—(History of England, chapter xxi.)

"It was this debate that called forth those masterly essays of John Locke on the nature of money and coin, which still remain as a monument to his genius and an unanswerable demonstration that money obeys the laws of value and is not the creature of arbitrary edicts. At the same time, Sir Isaac Newton was called from those sublime discoveries in science which made his name immortal, to aid the king and Parliament in ascertaining the true basis of money. After the most thorough examina-

tion, this great thinker reached the same conclusions. The genius of these two men, aided by the enlightened statesmanship of Montague and Somers, gave the victory to honest money, and preserved the commercial honor of England for a century.

PAPER MONEY AN INSTRUMENT OF CREDIT.

“In discussing the use of paper as a representative of actual money, we enter a new branch of political science, namely, the general theory of credit. We shall go astray at once if we fail to perceive the character of this element. Credit is not capital. It is the permission given to one man to use the capital of another. It is not an increase of capital; for the same property cannot be used as capital by both the owner and the borrower of it, at the same time. But credit if not abused, is a great and beneficent power. By its use the productiveness of capital is greatly increased. A large amount of capital is owned by people who do not desire to employ it in the actual production of wealth. There are many others who are ready and willing to engage in productive enterprise, but have not the necessary capital. Now, if the owners of unemployed capital have confidence in the honesty and skill of the latter class, they lend their capital at a fair rate of interest, and thus the production of wealth will be greatly increased. Frequently, however, the capital loaned is not actually transferred to the borrower, but a written evidence of his title to it is given instead. If this title is transferable it may be used as a substitute for money; for, within certain limits, it has the same purchasing power. When these evidences of credit

are in the form of checks and drafts, bills of exchange and promissory notes, they are largely used as substitutes for money, and very greatly facilitate exchanges. But all are based upon confidence, upon the belief that they represent truly what they profess to represent—actual capital, measured by real money, to be delivered on demand.

“These evidences of credit have become in modern times the chief instruments of exchange. The bank has become as indispensable to the exchange of values as the railroad is to the transportation of merchandise. It is the institution of credit by means of which these various substitutes for money are made available. It has been shown that not less than ninety per cent. of all the exchanges in the United States are accomplished by means of bank credits. The per cent. in England is not less than ninety-five. Money is now the small change of commerce. It is perhaps owing to this fact that many are so dazzled by the brilliant achievements of credit as to forget that it is the shadow of capital, not its substance; that it is the sign, the brilliant sign, but not the thing signified. Let it be constantly borne in mind that the check, the draft, the bill of exchange, the promissory note, are all evidences of debt, of money to be paid. If not, they are fictitious and fraudulent. If the real capital on which they are based be destroyed, they fall with it, and become utterly worthless. If confidence in their prompt payment be impaired, they immediately depreciate in proportion to the distrust.

“We have mentioned among these instruments of credit the promissory note. Its character as an evidence

of debt is not changed when it comes to us illuminated by the art and mystery of plate-printing. Name it national bank-note, greenback, Bank of England note, or what you will ; let it be signed by banker, president, or king, it is none the less an evidence of debt, a promise to pay. It is not money, and no power on earth can make it money. But it is a title to money, a deed for money, and can be made equal to money only when the debtor performs the promise—delivers the property which the deed calls for, pays the debt. When that is done, and when the community knows, by actual test, that it will continue to be done, then, and not till then, this credit-currency will in fact be the honest equivalent of money. Then it will, in large measure, be used in preference to coin, because of its greater convenience, and because the cost of issuing new notes in place of those which are worn and mutilated is much less than the loss which the community suffers by abrasion of the coin. To the extent, therefore, that paper will circulate in place of coin, as a substitute and an equivalent, such circulation is safe, convenient, and economical. And what is the limit of such safe circulation? Economic science has demonstrated, and the uniform experience of nations has proved, that the term which marks that limit, the sole and supreme test of safety, is the exchangeability of such paper for coin, dollar for dollar, at the will of the holder. The smallest increase in volume beyond that limit produces depreciation in the value of each paper dollar. It then requires more of such depreciated dollars to purchase a given quantity of gold or merchandise than it did before depreciation began. In other words, prices rise in comparison

with such currency. The fact that it is made a legal tender for taxes and private debts does not free it from the inexorable law that increase of volume decreases the value of every part.

“It is equally true that an increase of the precious metals, coined or uncoined, decreases their value in comparison with other commodities; but these metals are of such universal currency, on account of their intrinsic value, that they flow to all parts of the civilized world, and the increase is so widely distributed that it produces but a small increase of prices in any one country. Not so with an inconvertible paper money. It is not of universal currency. It is national, not international. It is non-exportable. The whole effect of its depreciation is felt at home. The level of Salt Lake has risen ten feet during the last thirty years, because it has no outlet. But all the floods of the world have made no perceptible change in the general level of the sea.

“The character of inconvertible paper money, the relation of its quantity to its value, and its inevitable depreciation by an increase of volume, were demonstrated in the Bullion Report of 1810 by facts and arguments whose force and conclusiveness have never been shaken. In the great debate that followed, in Parliament and through the press, may be found the counterpart of almost every doctrine and argument which has been advanced in our own country since the suspension of specie payments. Then, as now, there were statesmen, doctrinaires, and business men who insisted that the bank-notes were not depreciated, but that gold had risen in value; who denied that gold coin was any longer the standard of value,

and declared that a bank-note was 'abstract currency.' Castlereagh announced in the House of Commons that the money standard was '*a sense of value, in reference to currency as compared with commodities.*' Another soft money man of that day said: 'The standard is neither gold nor silver, but *something set up in the imagination, to be regulated by public opinion.*' Though the doctrines of the Bullion Report were at first voted down in Parliament, they could not be suppressed. With the dogged persistency which characterizes our British neighbors, the debate was kept up for ten years. Every proposition and counter proposition was sifted, the intelligence and conscience of the nation were invoked; the soft money men were driven from every position they occupied in 1811, and at last the ancient standard was restored. When the bank redeemed its notes, the difference between the mint price and the market price of bullion disappeared, and the volume of paper money was reduced in the ratio of its former depreciation. During the last half century few Englishmen have risked their reputation for intelligence by denying the doctrines thus established.

"These lessons of history cannot be wholly forgotten. It is too late to set up again the doctrines of Lowndes and Vansittart. They may disturb and distract public opinion, but can never again triumph before an intelligent tribunal. I commend to the soft money men of our time the study of this great debate and that of 1695. When they have overturned the doctrines of Locke and Newton and of the Bullion Report, it will be time for them to invite us to follow their new theories.

“But we need not go abroad to obtain illustrations of the truth that the only cure for depreciation of the currency is convertibility into coin. Our American colonies, our Continental Congress, and our State and national governments have demonstrated its truth by repeated and calamitous experiments. The fathers who drafted our constitution believed they had ‘shut and bolted the door against irredeemable paper money;’ and, since then, no president, no secretary of the treasury, has proposed or sanctioned a paper currency, in time of peace, not redeemable in coin at the will of the holder. Search our records from 1787 to 1861, and select from any decade twenty of our most illustrious statesmen, and it will be found that not less than nineteen of them have left on record, in the most energetic language, their solemn protest and warning against the very doctrines we are opposing.

“The limits of this article will allow only the briefest statement of the evils that flow from a depreciated currency, evils both to the government and to the people, which overbalance, a thousand to one, all its real or supposed benefits. The word ‘dollar’ is the substantive word, the fundamental condition of every contract, of every sale, of every payment, whether at the treasury or at the stand of the apple-woman in the street. The dollar is the gauge that measure every blow of the hammer, every article of merchandise, every exchange of property. Forced by the necessities of war, we substituted for the this dollar the printed promise of the Government to pay a dollar. That promise we have not kept. We have suspended payment, and have compelled the citizen to

receive dishonored paper in place of money. The representative value of that paper has passed, by thousands of fluctuations, from one hundred cents down to thirty-eight, and back again to ninety. At every change, millions of men have suffered loss. In the midst of war, with rising prices and enormous gains, these losses were tolerable. But now, when we are slowly and painfully making our way back to the level of peace—now, when the pressure of hard times is upon us, and industry and trade depend for their gains upon small margins of profit, the uncertainty is an intolerable evil. That uncertainty is increased by doubts as to what Congress will do. Men hesitate to invest their capital in business, when a vote in Congress may shrink it by half its value. Still more striking are the evils of such a currency in its effects upon international commerce. Our purchases from and sales to foreign nations amount in the aggregate to one billion two hundred million dollars per annum, every dollar of which is measured in coin. Those who export our products buy with paper and sell for gold. Our importers buy with gold and sell for paper. Thus the aggregate value of our international exchanges is measured, successfully, by the two standards. The loss occasioned by the fluctuation of these currencies in reference to each other falls wholly on us. We, alone, use paper as a standard. And who, among us, bears the loss? The importer, knowing the risk he runs, adds to his prices a sufficient per cent. to insure himself against loss. This addition is charged over from importer to jobber, from jobber to retailer, until its dead weight falls, at last, upon the laborer who consumes the goods. In the same way, the exporter insures himself against

loss by marking down the prices he will pay for products to be sent abroad. In all such transactions capital is usually able to take care of itself. The laborer has but one commodity for sale, his day's work. It is his sole reliance. He must sell it to-day or it is lost forever. What he buys must be bought to-day. He cannot wait till prices fall. He is at the mercy of the market. Buying or selling, the waves of its fluctuations beat against him. Daniel Webster never uttered a more striking truth than when he said: 'Of all the contrivances for cheating the laboring classes of mankind, none has been more effectual than that which deludes them with paper money. This is the most effectual of inventions to fertilize the rich man's field by the sweat of the poor man's face.'

"But here we are met by the interconvertible-bond-and-currency men, who offer to emancipate us from the tyranny of gold and secure a more perfect standard than coin has ever been. Let us see. Our five per cent. bonds are now on a par with gold. Any actuary will testify that in the same market a 3.65 bond, payable, principal and interest, in gold, and having the same time to run, is worth but seventy-five cents in gold; that is, thirteen cents less than the present greenback. How much less the bond will be worth if its interest be made payable in the proposed inconvertible currency, no mortal can calculate. It is proposed, then, to make the new currency equivalent to a bond which, at its birth, is thirteen cents below the greenback of to-day. We are to take a long leap downward at the first bound. But 'interconvertibility' is the charm, the 'subtle principle,' the

great 'regulator of finance,' which will adjust everything. The alternate ebb and flow of bond into paper dollar, and paper dollar into bond, will preserve an equilibrium, an equipoise ; and this level of equipoise is the base line that will measure the new standard of value. The lad who sold his two-dollar dog for fifty dollars, and took his pay in pups at ten dollars each, never doubted that he had made a profit of forty-eight dollars until he found how small a sum the whole litter would sell for in the market.

"Undoubtedly the beam will lie level that is weighted with the bond at one end and the paper money at the other. But what will be the relation of that level to the level of real values? Both the bond and the currency are instruments of credit, evidences of debt. They cannot escape the dominion of those universal laws that regulate prices. If made by law the only legal tender, such a currency would doubtless occupy the field. But what would be the result? To a certain extent the bonds themselves would be used as currency. The clearing-house banks of New York would doubtless be glad to get interest-bearing bonds instead of the government certificates of indebtedness, bearing no interest, which, for convenience, they now use in the settlement of their balances. The reserves of public and private banks, which now amount to more than two hundred million dollars, would largely be held in these interest-bearing bonds. Thus the first step would result in compelling the government to pay interest on a large portion of the reserves of all the banks, public, and private. It will hardly be claimed, however, that anybody will part with his property for bonds of this

description, to hold as a permanent investment. Capital in this country is worth more than 3.65 per cent. How, then, will the new currency be set afloat? The treasury can pay it out only in exchange for the new bonds or in payment of public dues. Shall we violate public faith by paying the gold bonds already outstanding in this new and greatly depreciated paper? Or shall we, as some of the soft money men have proposed, enter upon a vast system of public works in order to put the new currency in circulation? No doubt means would be found to push it into circulation, so long as enterprise or speculation should offer a hope of greater profits than 3.65 per cent. Once out, it would inevitably prove a repetition of the old story: an artificial stimulation of business and of speculation; large issues of currency; inflation of prices, depreciation of paper, delirium, prostration; 'up like a rocket, then down like a stick.' They tell us that this cannot happen, because as the volume of paper increases, the rate of interest will fall, and when it reaches 3.65 per cent. the currency will be exchanged for bonds. But all experience is against them. Inflation has never brought down the rate of interest. In fact, the rate is always highest in countries afflicted with irredeemable paper money. For all practical purposes, the proposed currency would be unredeemed and irredeemable; and this is what its advocates desire. General Butler sees 'no more reason for redeeming the measure of value than for redeeming the yardstick or the quart-pot.' This shows the utmost confusion of ideas. We do not *redeem* the yardstick or the quart-pot. They are, in reality, what they profess

to be. There is nothing better for measuring yards than a yardstick. But, in regard to the yardstick, we do what is strictly analogous to redemption when applied to currency. We preserve our yardstick undiminished and unchanged; and, by the solemn sanction of penal law, we require that it shall be applied to the purchase and sale of all commodities that can be measured by the standard of length. The citizen who buys by a longer yardstick or sells by a shorter one than our standard, is punished as a felon. Common honesty requires that we restore, and with equal care preserve from diminution or change, our standard of value.

“It has been already shown that the soft money men desire a vast increase of currency above the present volume. The assumed necessity for such an increase was a leading topic in the debates that preceded the late elections.

“The argument, often repeated, ran substantially thus :

“Fellow-citizens! You are in great distress. The smoke of your furnaces no longer ascends to the sky; the clang of your mills and workshops is no longer heard. Your workers in metal and miners in coal are out of employment. Stagnation of trade, depression of business, and public distress are seen on every hand. What has caused these disasters? Manifestly, a lack of money. Is there any man among you who has money enough? If there be, let him stand forth and declare it. Is there one who does not need more money to carry on his business? [Cries of No! No!] The hard money men have brought you to this distress, by contracting the

volume of the currency, by destroying the people's money, your money. And they propose to complete your ruin by forcing the country to resume specie payments. We come to save you from this ruin. We insist that you shall have more money, not less. We are resolved to make and keep the volume of currency 'equal to the wants of trade.'

"These assumptions were answered by undeniable facts. It was shown that our large volume of paper currency had helped to bring on the crisis of 1873, and had greatly aggravated its effects; but that the main cause was speculation, over-trading, and, in some branches of business, an over-production beyond the demands of the market.

"A striking illustration of the effect of over-production was drawn from the history of one of the interior counties of Northern Ohio. In the midst of a wilderness, far away from the centres of trade, the pioneers commenced the settlement of the county at the beginning of the present century. Year by year their number was augmented. Each new settler was compelled to buy provisions for his family until he could raise his first crop. For several years this demand afforded a ready market, at good prices, for all the products of the farm. But in 1818, the supply greatly exceeded the demand. The wheat market was so glutted that twenty bushels were frequently offered for one pound of tea, and often refused, because tea could be bought only for money, and wheat could hardly be sold at all.

"If the soft money men of our time had been among those farmers, they would have insisted that more

money would raise the price of their wheat and set the ploughboys at work. But the pioneers knew that until the stock on hand was reduced, the production of another bushel to be sold would be labor wasted. The cry for more currency shows that soft money men have confounded credit with capital, and vaguely imagine that if more paper dollars were printed they could be borrowed without security.

“In whatever form the new currency be proposed, whether in the so-called absolute money or the ‘interconvertible paper money tokens,’ as a relief from distress, it is a delusion and a snare. All these schemes are reckless attempts to cut loose from real money—the money known and recognized throughout the world—and to adopt for our standard that which a great gold gambler of Wall Street aptly called ‘phantom gold.’ Their authors propose a radical and dangerous innovation in our political system. They desire to make the National Treasury a bank of issue, and to place in the control of Congress the vast money power of the nation, to be handled as the whim, the caprice, the necessities of political parties may dictate. Federalist as Hamilton was, he held that such a power was too great to be centralized in the hands of one body. This goes a hundred leagues beyond any measure of centralization that has yet been adopted or suggested.

“In view of the doctrines herein advocated, what shall be said of the present condition of our currency? It is depreciated. Its purchasing power is less than that of real money, by about fourteen per cent. Our notes are at a discount; not because the ability of the nation

to redeem them is questioned, but partly because its good faith is doubted, and partly because the volume of these notes is too great to circulate at par. What that volume ought to be, no man can tell. Convertibility into coin is a perfect test, and is the only test.

NECESSITY OF RESUMPTION.

“The duty of the government to make its currency equal to real money is undeniable and imperative. First, because the public faith is most solemnly pledged, and this alone is a conclusive and unanswerable reason why it should be done. The perfidy of one man, or of a million men, is as nothing compared with the perfidy of a nation. The public faith was the talisman that brought to the treasury thirty-five hundred million dollars in loans, to save the life of the nation, which was not worth saving if its honor be not also saved. The public faith is our only hope of safety from the dangers that may assail us in the future. The public faith was pledged to redeem these notes in the very act which created them, and the pledge was repeated when each additional issue was ordered. It was again repeated in the act of 1869, known as the ‘act to strengthen the public credit,’ and yet again in the act of 1875, promising redemption in 1879.

“Second. The government should make its currency equal to gold because the material prosperity of its people demands it. Honest dealing between man and man requires it. Just and equal legislation for the people, safety in trade, domestic and foreign, security in busi-

ness, just distribution of the rewards of labor—none of these are possible until the present false and uncertain standard of value has given place to the real, the certain, the universal standard. Its restoration will hasten the revival of commercial confidence, which is the basis of all sound credit.

“Third. Public morality demands the re-establishment of our ancient standard. The fever of speculation which our fluctuating currency has engendered cannot be allayed till its cause is destroyed. A majority of all the crimes relating to money, that have been committed in public and private life since the war, have grown out of the innumerable opportunities for sudden and inordinate gains which this fluctuation has offered.

“The gold panic of 1869, which overwhelmed thousands of business men in ruin, and the desperate gambling in gold which is to-day absorbing so many millions of capital that ought to be employed in producing wealth, were made possible only by the difference between paper and gold. Resumption will destroy all that at a blow. It will enable all men to see the real situation of their affairs, and will do much toward dissipating those unreal and fascinating visions of wealth to be won without industry, which have broken the fortunes and ruined the morals of so many active and brilliant citizens.

“My limits will not allow a discussion of the hardship and evils which it is feared will accompany the restoration of the old standard. Whatever they may be, they will be light and transient in comparison with those we shall endure if the doctrines of soft money prevail. I am not able to see why the approach to specie may not

be made so gradual that the fluctuation in any one month will be less than that which we have suffered from month to month since 1869. We have travelled more than half the distance which then separated us from the gold standard.

“A scale of appreciation like that by which England resumed in 1821 would greatly mitigate the hardships arising from the movement. Those who believe that the volume of our currency is but little above its normal level need not fear that there will be much contraction; for, with free banking, they may be sure that all the paper which can be an actual substitute for money will remain in circulation. No other ought to circulate.

“The advocates of soft money are loud in their denunciation of the English resumption act of 1819, and parade the distorted views of that small and malignant minority of English writers who have arraigned the act as the cause of the agricultural distress of 1822, and the financial crash which followed, in 1825. The charge is absolutely unjust and unfounded. In 1822 a committee of the House of Commons, having investigated the causes of the agricultural distress of that and the preceding year, found that it was due to the operation of the corn laws, and to the enormous wheat crops of the two preceding seasons. Their report makes no reference to the resumption act as a cause of the distress. In both that and the following year, a few of the old opponents of hard money offered resolutions in the House of Commons, declaring that the resumption act was one of the causes of the public distress. The resolution of 1822 was defeated by a vote of one hundred and forty-one to twenty-seven, and

that of 1823 was defeated by the still more decisive vote of one hundred and ninety-two to thirty. An overwhelming majority of intelligent Englishmen look back with pride and satisfaction upon the act of resumption as a just and beneficent measure.

“But methods and details of management are of slight importance in comparison with the central purpose so often expressed by the nation. From that purpose there should be no retreat. To postpone its fulfilment beyond the day already fixed is both dangerous and useless. It will make the task harder than ever. Resumption could have been accomplished in 1867 with less difficulty than it can be in 1879. It can be accomplished more easily in 1879 than at any later date. It is said that we ought to wait until the vast mass of private debts can be adjusted. But when will that be done? Horace has told us of a rustic traveller who stood on the bank of a river, waiting for its waters to flow by, that he might cross over in safety. ‘*At ille labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*’ The succession of debts and debtors will be as perpetual as the flow of the river.

“We ought to be inspired by the recent brilliant example of France. Suffering unparalleled disasters, she was compelled to issue a vast volume of legal-tender notes in order to meet her obligations. But so soon as the great indemnity was paid, she addressed herself resolutely to the work of bringing her currency up to the standard of gold. During the last two years she has reduced her paper currency nearly seven hundred and fifty million francs; and now it is substantially at par.

“Amidst all her disasters she has kept her financial

credit untarnished. And this has been her strength and her safety. To meet the great indemnity, she asked her people for a loan of three billion francs ; and twelve and a half times the amount was subscribed. In August, 1874, the American Minister at Paris said, in one of his despatches, ' Though immense amounts were taken abroad, yet it seems they are all coming back to France, and are now being absorbed in small sums by the common people. The result will be, in the end, that almost the entire loan will be held in France. Every person in the whole country is wishing to invest a few hundred francs in the new loan, and it has reached a premium of four and one half to five per cent.'

" Our public faith is the symbol of our honor and the pledge of our future safety. By every consideration of national honor, of public justice, and of sound policy, let us stand fast in the resolution to restore our currency to the standard of gold."

On the 5th of April, 1880, Mr. Weaver, the leader of the Greenback party in the House, arose and addressed the Speaker as follows :

" I move to suspend the rules and adopt the resolutions which I send to the desk.

" The Clerk read as follows :

" *Resolved*, That it is the sense of this House that all currency, whether metallic or paper, necessary for the use and convenience of the people should be issued and its volume controlled by the Government, and not by or through the bank corporations of the country ; and when so issued should be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private.

“ ‘ 2. *Resolved*, That, in the judgment of this House, that portion of the interest-bearing debt of the United States which shall become redeemable in the year 1881, or prior thereto, being in amount \$782,000,000, should not be refunded beyond the power of the Government to call in said obligations and pay them at any time, but should be paid as rapidly as possible, and according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, the mints of the United States should be operated to their full capacity in the coinage of standard silver dollars, and such other coinage as the business interests of the country may require.’ ”

As soon as the Clerk had finished reading the resolutions. General Garfield rose, and said :

“ Mr. Speaker.—I never heard the provisions of this resolution until it was read from the desk a few moments ago. It has, however, attained some historical importance by being talked about a good deal in the newspapers, and by blocking the other business of the House for some weeks. As I listened to its reading I noticed that it is one of those mixed propositions which has some good things in it which everybody would probably like and vote for if they were separated ; but the good things are used to sugar over what, in my judgment, is most pernicious.

“ There are three things in this resolution to which I wish to call the attention of the House before they vote. The first is a proposition of the largest possible proportion, that all money, whether of coin or paper, that is to circulate in this country, ought to be manufactured and issued directly by the Government. I stop there. I want to say on that proposition to the majority in this House,

who are so strongly opposed to what they call centralization, that never was there a measure offered to the Congress of so vast and far-reaching centralism. It would convert the Treasury of the United States into a manufactory of paper money. It makes the House of Representatives and Senate, or the caucus of the party which happens to be in the majority, the absolute dictator of the financial and business affairs of this country. This scheme surpasses all the centralism and all the Cæsarism that were ever charged upon the Republican party in the wildest days of the war, or in the events growing out of the war.

“Now, I say, without fear of contradiction, that prior to 1862 the wildest dreamer in American finance was never wild enough to propose such a measure of centralization as that single proposition implies. The Government should prescribe general laws in reference to the quality and character of our paper money, but should never become the direct manufacturer and issuer of it.

“The second point involved in this resolution is that the Government of the United States shall pay all its public debts in this manufactured money, manufactured to order at the Treasury factory. Notwithstanding the solemn and acknowledged pledge of the Government to pay the principal and interest of its public debt in coin, this resolution declares that in this legal-tender paper the public debt shall be payable.

“The third point I wish to call attention to—

“Mr. Ewing.—Will my colleague allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

“Mr. Garfield.—Certainly.

“Mr. Ewing.—You certainly misunderstand the resolution. It declares that all public debts of the United States shall be paid in the money of the contract. and not in any coin or money the Government may choose to pay them in.

“Mr. Garfield.—Any money the Government may issue is by this resolution declared to be lawful money and, therefore, is to be made the money of the contract by the legislation proposed to-day.

“Mr. Ewing.—That is a mere quibble based on a total misconstruction of the resolution.

“Mr. Garfield.—Answer in your own time.

“Now, the third point in this resolution is that there shall be no refunding of the \$782,000,000 to fall due this year and next, but all that shall be paid. How? Out of the resources of the nation? Yes; but the money to be manufactured at the Treasury is to be called part of these resources. Print it to death—that is the way to dispose of the public debt, says this resolution.

“I have only to say that these three make the triple-headed monster of centralization, inflation, and repudiation combined. This monster is to be let loose on the country as the last spawn of the dying party that thought it had a little life in it a year ago. It is put out at this moment to test the courage of the two political parties; it is offered at this point when the roar of the Presidential contest comes to us from all quarters of the country. In a few moments we shall see what the political parties will do with this beast. All I have to say, for one, is, meet and throttle it; in the name of honesty, in the

name of the public peace and prosperity, in the name of the rights of individual citizens of this country against centralism, worse than we ever dreamed of, meet it and fight it like men. Let both parties show their courage by meeting boldly and putting an end to its power for mischief. Let the vote be taken."

On the 10th of April, 1880, the House being in Committee of the Whole on the Appropriation Bill, the following debate occurred between General Garfield and Mr. McMahon, of Ohio :

" Mr. McMahon (Dem.), of Ohio, submitted an amendment repealing the sections of the statutes providing for the biennial examination of pensioners, but leaving with the commissioner power to order special examinations when necessary and to increase or reduce pensions in accordance with right and justice, but no pension shall be reduced without notice to the pensioner. The amendment concludes as follows :

" " In order to provide for the payment of arrears of pensions the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to issue immediately in payment thereof, as they may be adjusted, the \$10,000,000 in legal tender currency now in the United States Treasury, kept as a special fund for the redemption of fractional currency."

" Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, raised the point of order that the amendment was not germane to the bill, changed existing law, and did not retrench expenditures. If the amendment could be ruled in order a proposition to break wholly through the whole resumption business could be also ruled in order."

SPEECH OF MR. McMAHON.

“ Mr. McMahon, of Ohio, in advocacy of that portion of the amendment providing for the reissue of the \$10,000,000 in the Treasury, said that he had been asked to go farther in that direction than he proposed ; but he had offered a proposition which, he thought, would be entirely unobjectionable on the Republican side of the House. Why should this \$10,000,000 of idle money be kept in the Treasury when it was clear that all of the fractional currency (for the redemption of which this money was ostensibly held) had been redeemed ? Why should the pensioners be told that there was a deficiency in the Treasury, and that, therefore, their arrearages of pensions could not be paid ? He had been surprised to hear the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield) make a point of order against the pensioners of the country, because he had supposed that that gentleman owed an allegiance to them which was superior to that which he owed to Wall Street. He made use of that language advisedly, because there were no people interested in keeping that \$10,000,000 in the Treasury except those who were in favor of contracting the currency. The Secretary of the Treasury was a good deal like his colleague (Mr. Garfield), and was always in favor of action in the interest of capital. As an illustration of Mr. Sherman's financial policy he said, that if that gentleman were dying his last words would be ‘ Borrow money on government bonds to put up a tombstone over me.’ The Treasury was loaded down with a reserve of \$330,000,000 in gold and currency, and yet the Secretary of the

Treasury told the people that there must be either additional taxes or an additional issue of bonds. Here were \$10,000,000 now in the Treasury, a part of the reserve authorized by law. The purpose for which it has been placed there has long since passed away, and it should now be put out to pay the arrears of pensions instead of issuing \$10,000,000 of bonds of which the interest would amount to \$400,000 a year."

REPLY OF MR. GARFIELD.

"Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, said that the attempt of his colleague (Mr. McMahon) to set himself up as the champion of the pensioners, was quite too thin a disguise to deceive anybody. The Republican side of the House had tried again and again to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to extend the sales of four per cent. bonds sufficiently to cover the matter of the payment of the arrears of pensions, and the House, at the last session had been brought to a vote on that subject at least twice, and but for the resistance on the Democratic side of the House that proposition would have prevailed and the pensioners would have been paid their arrearages. The responsibility for not paying them rested, therefore, on those who resisted that proposition, not on those who made it. No man could torture anything which he had said to-day on the point of order into an unwillingness that the pensioners should have their pensions paid or that all remedial legislation should be adopted to make their payment easy. It was quite too late in the day for his colleague to intimate that there was objection on his (Mr. Garfield's) part to have the pensioners paid. He had made

the point of order simply because he looked upon the amendment as an entering wedge, the general purpose of which was to break down the system of reserves, on which the maintenance of resumption depended. His colleague, whose distinguished knowledge as a financier no one would question, had amazed him very much by saying that the subsidiary currency played no part in the general problem of resumption. Did not his colleague know perfectly well that a subsidiary currency went to make up the bulk of circulating medium, just as much as greenbacks did, and just as much as gold did? The relations between himself and his colleague had never been such as to warrant either in using an impolite or indecent expression toward the other, and therefore his colleague had no more right to say, either as a matter of fact or as a matter of fair inference, that he (Mr. Garfield) owed his allegiance to Wall Street than he would have a right to say that his colleague owed his allegiance to the grogeries and whiskey shops of Dayton. And as he (Mr. Garfield) would not say that, he did not think that his colleague was entitled to say the other.

“ Mr. McMahon stated that he was tolerably familiar with his colleague’s public career, and he asked his colleague whether in all the discussions that had taken place in this country on the financial question his colleague could show one vote of his that was not based upon the idea of speedy resumption, no matter at what cost, even when his colleague’s own party had separated from him on that point in the forty-third Congress ?

“ Mr. Garfield replied that, according to his own notions of proper legislative praise, his colleague could

not counterpraise him any more than in stating that he (Mr. Garfield) had always cast his vote in favor of the resumption of specie payment. If he ever had cast a vote which was not against all schemes to delay that unnecessarily, or to prevent it, then he had cast a vote of which his conscience and his judgment disapproved. [Applause on the Republican side.] He had cast as many votes as any member on the floor against Wall Street and against the business of gold gambling, which had been destroyed by resumption—gold gambling that had locked up \$10,000,000 from the business capital of the country for fifteen years, locked it up away from all profitable investment and converted Wall Street into a faro hell. (Applause.)

“Mr. Bright (Dem.), of Tennessee.—Has not Wall Street been simply transferred to the Treasury of the United States.

“Mr. Garfield.—I hope that enough of the gold and silver of the country that has been hitherto locked up in Wall Street for gold gambling purposes has been transferred to the Treasury of the United States to break down the bulls and bears of Wall Street permanently and to maintain honest money in the country. (Applause.)

“Mr. McMahon inquired if it was wrong to order the \$10,000,000 to be reissued, when under the law they should be paid out in redemption of fractional currency.

“Mr. Garfield replied that if his colleague would inquire and find out how much of that \$10,000,000 could be spared, leaving enough to meet all the obligations of the reserve, he would be willing to vote that surplus for the purpose of paying arrears of pensions.”

CHAPTER IX.

THE CREDIT MOBILIER AND DE GOLYER CHARGES — GENERAL GARFIELD'S TRIUMPHANT VINDICATION.

History of the Crédit Mobilier Scheme—The Pacific Railway—Government Aid extended to H. Oakes Ames' Connection with the Road—Congress Investigates the Crédit Mobilier—General Garfield's sworn Testimony before the Committee—He denies all Improper Connection with the Scheme—Publishes a Review of the Case—An Exhaustive Discussion of the Case—Testimony in the Matter—General Garfield's Response to the Charges of 1872—Mr. Ames' Testimony Analyzed—Mr. Ames' Memoranda—The Check on the Sergeant-at-Arms—General Garfield's Interviews with Mr. Ames during the Investigation—Conclusions—Triumphant Vindication of General Garfield—All the Charges against him—Letter of Judge Poland—General Garfield Unanimously Acquitted of Wrong-doing—The De Golyer Pavement Company—Charges against General Garfield—His Triumphant Vindication of his Course—The Truth established at last.

It could hardly be expected that one who had taken such an active and prominent part in our public affairs should escape the attacks of slander. General Garfield has experienced the fate of most public men. He has been misjudged, and false charges have been brought against him. Inasmuch as these charges have been made, it seems but just that we should reproduce them here, and then present General Garfield's triumphant and masterly vindication of his course.

It was charged that he was a sharer in the unjust

profits of the *Crédit Mobilier* ring in Congress. To understand this question thoroughly it will be necessary to relate the history of that iniquitous scheme.

One of the great public works of the Union, of which the whole country is justly proud, is the Pacific Railroad, extending from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. The early history of the great road is a story of constant struggles and disappointments. It seemed to the soundest capitalists a mere piece of fool-hardiness to undertake to build a railroad across the continent and over the Rocky Mountains, and, although Government aid was liberally pledged to the undertaking, it did not, for a long time, attract to it the capital it needed. At length, after many struggles, the doubt which had attended the enterprise was ended. Capital was found, and with it men ready to carry on the work. In September, 1864, a contract was entered into between the Union Pacific Company and H. W. Hoxie, for the building by said Hoxie of one hundred miles of the road from Omaha west. Mr. Hoxie at once assigned this contract to a company, as had been the understanding from the first. This company, then comparatively unknown, but since very famous, was known as the *Crédit Mobilier of America*. The company had bought up an old charter that had been granted by the Legislature of Pennsylvania to another company in that State, but which had not been used by them.

“In 1865 or 1866, Oakes Ames, then a member of Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and his brother Oliver Ames, became interested in the Union Pacific Company, and also in the *Crédit Mobilier Com-*

pany, as the agent for the construction of the road. The Messrs. Ames were men of very large capital, and of known character and integrity in business. By their example and credit and the personal efforts of Mr. Oakes Ames, many men of capital were induced to embark in the enterprise, and to take stock in the Union Pacific Company, and also in the *Crédit Mobilier* Company. Among them were the firm of S. Hooper & Co., of Boston, the leading member of which (Mr. Samuel Hooper) was then and is now a member of the House; Mr. John B. Alley, then a member of the House from Massachusetts, and Mr. Grimes, then a senator from the State of Iowa. Notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of Mr. Ames and others interested with him, great difficulty was experienced in securing the required capital.

“In the spring of 1867, the *Crédit Mobilier* Company voted to add fifty per cent. to their capital stock, which was then \$2,500,000; and to cause it to be readily taken, each subscriber to it was entitled to receive as a bonus an equal amount of first mortgage bonds of the Union Pacific Company. The old stockholders were entitled to take this increase, but even the favorable terms offered did not induce all the old stockholders to take it, and the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier* Company was never considered worth its par value until after the execution of the Oakes Ames contract hereinafter mentioned. On the 16th day of August, 1867, a contract was executed between the Union Pacific Railroad and Oakes Ames, by which Mr. Ames contracted to build 667 miles of the Union Pacific Road at prices ranging from \$42,000 to \$96,000 per mile, amounting in the aggregate to

\$47,000,000. Before the contract was entered into, it was understood that Mr. Ames was to transfer it to seven trustees who were to execute it, and the profits of the contract were to be divided among the stockholders in the Crédit Mobilier Company, who should comply with certain conditions set out in the instrument transferring the contract to the trustees. Subsequently, all the stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier Company complied with the conditions named in the transfer, and thus became entitled to share in any profits said trustees might make in executing the contract. All the large stockholders in the Union Pacific were also stockholders in the Crédit Mobilier, and the Ames contract and its transfer to trustees were ratified by the Union Pacific and received the assent of the great body of stockholders, but not of all. After the Ames contract had been executed, it was expected by those interested that, by reason of the enormous prices agreed to be paid for the work, very large profits would be derived from building the road, and very soon the stock of the Crédit Mobilier was understood to be worth much more than its par value. The stock was not in the market, and had no fixed market value, but the holders of it, in December, 1867, considered it worth at least double the par value, and in January or February, 1868, three or four times the par value; but it does not appear that these facts were generally or publicly known, or that the holders of the stock desired they should be."

As will be seen from the above statement, the stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier were also stockholders in the Union Pacific Company.

Like all great corporations of the present day, the Union Pacific Road was largely dependent upon the aid furnished by the Government for its success. The managers of the company, being shrewd men, succeeded in placing all the burdens and risks of the enterprise upon the General Government, while they secured to themselves all the profits to be derived from the undertaking. The Railroad Company was endowed by Act of Congress with twenty alternate sections of land per mile, and had Government-loans of \$16,000 per mile for about 200 miles; thence \$32,000 per mile through the Alkali Desert, about 600 miles, and thence in the Rocky Mountains \$48,000 per mile. The railroad company issued stock to the extent of about \$10,000,000. This stock was received by stockholders on their payment of five per cent. of its face. When the *Crédit Mobilier* came on the scene, all the assets of the Union Pacific were turned over to the new company in consideration of full paid shares of the new company's stock and its agreement to build the road. The Government, meanwhile, had allowed its claim for its loan of bonds to become a second instead of a first mortgage, and permitted the Union Pacific Road to issue first mortgage bonds, which took precedence as a lien on the road. The Government lien thus became almost worthless, as the new mortgage, which took precedence, amounted to all the value of the road. The proceeds of this extraordinary transaction went to swell the profits of the *Crédit Mobilier*, which had nothing to pay out except for the mere cost of construction. This also explains why some of the dividends of the latter company were paid in Union Pacific bonds

As a result of these processes, the bonded debts of the railroad exceeded its cost by at least \$40,000,000."

Mr. Ames was deeply interested in the scheme, being, indeed, one of its principal managers. Being a member of Congress, he was peculiarly prepared to appreciate the value of Congressional assistance in behalf of the *Crédit Mobilier*. It would seem that the object of the *Crédit Mobilier* was to drain money from the Pacific road, and consequently from the Government, as long as possible. Any legislation on the part of Congress designed to protect the interests of the Government, would, as a matter of course, be unfavorable to the *Crédit Mobilier*, and it was the aim of that corporation to prevent all such legislation. The price agreed upon for building the road was so exorbitant, and afforded such an iniquitous profit to the *Crédit Mobilier*, that it was very certain that some honest friend of the people would demand that Congress should protect the Treasury against such spoliation. It was accordingly determined to interest in the scheme enough members of Congress to prevent any protection of the national treasury at the expense of the unlawful gains of the *Crédit Mobilier*. Mr. Oakes Ames, being in Congress, undertook to secure the desired hold upon his associates. The plan was simply to secure them by bribing them, and for this purpose a certain portion of the *Crédit Mobilier* stock was placed in the hands of Mr. Ames, as trustee, to be used by him as he thought best for the interests of the company.

Provided with this stock, Mr. Ames went to Washington, in December, 1867, at the opening of the session of Congress. "During that month," say the Poland

Committee in their report, "Mr. Ames entered into contracts with a considerable number of members of Congress, both senators and representatives, to let them have shares of stock in the Crédit Mobilier Company at par, with interest thereon from the first day of the previous July. It does not appear that in any instance he asked any of these persons to pay a higher price than the par value and interest, nor that Mr. Ames used any special effort or urgency to get these persons to take it. In all these negotiations Mr. Ames did not enter into any details as to the value of the stock, or the amount of dividend that might be expected upon it, but stated generally that it would be good stock, and in several instances said he would guarantee that they should get at least ten per cent. on their money. Some of these gentlemen, in their conversations with Mr. Ames, raised the question whether becoming holders of this stock would bring them into any embarrassment as members of Congress in their legislative action. Mr. Ames quieted such suggestions by saying it could not, for the Union Pacific had received from Congress all the grants and legislation it wanted, and they should ask for nothing more. In some instances those members who contracted for stock paid to Mr. Ames the money for the price of the stock, par and interest; in others, where they had not the money, Mr. Ames agreed to 'carry' the stock for them until they could get the money, or it should be met by the dividends. Mr. Ames was at this time a large stockholder in the Crédit Mobilier, but he did not intend any of those transactions to be sales of his own stock, but intended to fulfil all these contracts from stock belonging to the company."

“It is very easy,” says the *New York Tribune*, “to see that under these circumstances the stock of the Crédit Mobilier was a very handsome investment, provided it could be purchased at par. Here was wherein Oakes Ames was such a profitable friend to Congressmen and senators. He let them in, as he phrases it, on the ground floor. They got their stock at par, and the dividends which were ready to be paid were more than enough to pay for the stock. This is what is called in Wall Street parlance making one hand wash the other. The actual value of the stock thus sold at \$100 a share would have been to anybody out of the circle of Oakes Ames’ friends not purchasable for less than \$300 or \$400. But there was a film of decency thrown over the transactions by Mr. Ames, in charging several months’ interest upon the stock at the time it was sold to the members of Congress. This interest had accrued while he was holding it to see where it could be placed to the best advantage.”

The motive of Mr. Ames in thus “placing,” as he termed it, this immensely profitable stock among the members of Congress, is thus stated by the Poland Committee:

“In relation to the purpose and motive of Mr. Ames in contracting to let members of Congress have Crédit Mobilier stock at par, which he and all other owners of it considered worth at least double that sum, the committee, upon the evidence taken by them and submitted to the House, cannot entertain a doubt. When he said he did not suppose the Union Pacific Company would ask or need further legislation, he stated what

he believed to be true, but he feared the interests of the road might suffer by adverse legislation, and what he desired to accomplish was to enlist strength and friends in Congress who would resist any encroachment upon or interference with the rights and privileges already secured, and to that end wished to create in them an interest identical with his own. This purpose is clearly avowed in his letters to McComb, copied in the evidence, where he says he intends to place the stock 'where it will do the most good to us,' and again, 'We want more friends in this Congress.' In his letter to McComb, and also in his statement prepared by counsel, he gives the philosophy of his action, to wit: That he has found there is no difficulty in getting men to look after their own property. The committee are also satisfied that Mr. Ames entertained a fear that when the true relations between the *Crédit Mobilier Company* and the *Union Pacific* became generally known, and the means by which the great profits expected to be made were fully understood, there was danger that Congressional investigation and action would be invoked. The members of Congress with whom he dealt were generally those who had been friendly and favorable to a Pacific railroad, and Mr. Ames did not fear or expect to find them favorable to movements hostile to it, but he desired to stimulate their activity and watchfulness in opposition to any unfavorable action, by giving them a personal interest in the success of the enterprise, especially so far as it affected the interest of the *Crédit Mobilier Company*.

"On the 9th day of December, 1867, Mr. C. C.

Washburn, of Wisconsin, introduced in the House a bill to regulate by law the rates of transportation over the Pacific railroads. Mr. Ames, as well as others interested in the Union Pacific Road, were opposed to this, and desired to defeat it. Other measures apparently hostile to that company were subsequently introduced into the House, by Mr. Washburn, of Wisconsin, and Mr. Washburn, of Illinois. The committee believe that Mr. Ames, in his distribution of the stock had specially in mind the hostile efforts of the Messrs. Washburn, and desired to gain strength to secure their defeat. The reference in one of his letters, to Washburn's move makes this quite apparent."

"The more recent legislation," says the *New York Tribune*, "which Ames' transactions with members of Congress had reference to, may be stated in a few words. Secretary Boutwell insisted that half the earnings of the road in carrying mails and troops for the Government should be applied to the payment of interest on the loans that the Government had made to the road. The legislation obtained overruled the Secretary and enabled the road to postpone payment of interest until the bonds fell due—some thirty years hence. To sum up, it may be briefly stated that the Union Pacific and Crédit Mobilier together got the proceeds of liberal United States land grants, of donations of communities near the road, and the entire subsidy of Government bonds, as a clear profit. The proceeds of the mortgage bonds which displaced the Government lien, were sufficient to have built the road. To the original stockholders in the Union Pacific, the profit

was something almost incredible. A share bought for \$5 subscription became \$100 *Crédit Mobilier*, which paid, as we have seen in the evidence concerning the legislators who received it, dividends that amounted to at least treble its nominal value. It is, of course, evident that all legislation which favored the Union Pacific Railroad swelled the profits of the legislators who became stockholders in the *Crédit Mobilier*. The awkwardness of this position was vastly increased by the thin disguise of purchase being torn away, under which the profit-bearing stock had been really the gift of Oakes Ames. The denial of the facts converted the transaction into a criminal act."

Reduced to plain English, the story of the *Crédit Mobilier* is simply this: The men entrusted with the management of the Pacific Road made a bargain with themselves to build the road for a sum equal to about twice its actual cost, and pocketed the profits, which have been estimated at about THIRTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS—this immense sum coming out of the pockets of the taxpayers of the United States. This contract was made in October, 1867.

"On June 17, 1868, the stockholders of the *Crédit Mobilier* received 60 per cent. in cash, and 40 per cent. in stock of the Union Pacific Railroad; on the 2d of July, 1868, 80 per cent. first mortgage bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad, and 100 per cent. stock; July 3, 1868, 75 per cent. stock, and 75 per cent. first mortgage bonds; September 3, 1868, 100 per cent. stock, and 75 per cent. first mortgage bonds; December 19, 1868, 200 per cent. stock; while, before this contract

was made, the stockholders had received, on the 26th of April, 1866, a dividend of 100 per cent. in stock of the Union Pacific Railroad; on the 1st of April, 1867, 50 per cent. of first mortgage bonds were distributed; on the 1st of July, 1867, 100 per cent. in stock again."

After offering this statement, it is hardly necessary to add that the vast property of the Pacific Road, which should have been used to meet its engagements, was soon swallowed up by the *Crédit Mobilier*.

This is the story of the *Crédit Mobilier*, as far as the facts have been permitted to become known. We shall now see how it came to make such a noise in the world.

Mr. Ames was not the only member of the company engaged in "placing" the stock where it would benefit the corporation. Dr. Durant, the President of the Pacific Railway, was engaged in securing his friends in the same way, and he received a portion of the stock to be used in this manner. Mr. Henry S. McComb, of Delaware, who was also interested in the scheme, now put in his claim for a part of the stock, which was being used as a corruption fund, "for his friends." His claim involved him in a quarrel with Oakes Ames, and Colonel McComb had the mortification of seeing the stock he claimed assigned to Mr. Ames, for the use of *his* friends.

In the summer of 1872, in the midst of the Presidential campaign, the quarrel between Ames and McComb reached such a point, that it was impossible to keep it quiet. McComb made public the facts in the case, and published a list of the Congressmen with whom Ames had said he had "placed" the stock, naming the number

of shares sold to each. These were:—Schuyler Colfax, Vice-President of the United States; Henry Wilson, Senator from Massachusetts; James W. Patterson, Senator from New Hampshire; John A. Logan, Senator from Illinois; James G. Blaine, Member of Congress from Maine, and Speaker of the House of Representatives; W. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania; James A. Garfield, of Ohio; James Brooks, of New York; John A. Bingham, of Ohio; Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts; Glenni W. Scofield, of Pennsylvania, and one or two others, who were not at the time of the exposure members of Congress.

As may be supposed, the publication of the charges, and the list of names, created a storm of excitement throughout the country. The members implicated, as a rule, indignantly denied the charge of having purchased or owned *Crédit Mobilier* stock. They declared themselves incapable of holding such stock, as it would have been, they said, a high crime against morality and decency to be connected in any way with the *Crédit Mobilier*. These denials were generally accepted. The persons making them had always borne high characters for veracity and integrity. Partisan orators and newspapers made the most of the charges, and made them so odious that the persons implicated repeated their denials with more earnestness.

When Congress assembled, in December, 1872, Mr. Blaine, the Speaker of the House, wishing to vindicate his character, which he declared had been unjustly assailed, asked the House of Representatives to appoint a committee to inquire into the charges of Ames and

McComb, and to report the result of their investigations. The committee was appointed, with Mr. Poland, of Vermont, as its chairman. An effort was made to conduct the investigation in secret; but the indignant public demanded and obtained an open trial. On the 18th of February, 1873, the committee reported to the House the result of its investigation.

General Garfield was one of those charged with participating in the corrupt profits of the *Crédit Mobilier*. He made public an emphatic denial of the charge, and cordially aided in the effort to have the charges investigated and the truth brought to light. Feeling that he had nothing to conceal, he was anxious that the most searching inquiry should be made into the matter. On the 14th of January, 1873, he appeared before the investigating committee, and testified as follows, under oath:

“The first I ever heard of the *Crédit Mobilier* was sometime in 1866 or 1867—I cannot fix the date—when George Francis Train called on me and said he was organizing a company to be known as the *Crédit Mobilier of America*, to be formed on the model of the *Crédit Mobilier of France*; that the object of the company was to purchase lands and build houses along the line of the Pacific Railroad at points where cities and villages were likely to spring up; that he had no doubt that money thus invested would double or treble itself each year; that subscriptions were limited to \$1,000 each, and he wished me to subscribe. He showed me a long list of subscribers, among them Mr. Oakes Ames, to whom he referred me for further information concerning the enter-

prise. I answered that I had not the money to spare, and if I had I would not subscribe without knowing more about the proposed organization. Mr. Train left me, saying he would hold a place open for me, and hoped I would conclude to subscribe. The same day I asked Mr. Ames what he thought of the enterprise. He expressed the opinion that the investment would be safe and profitable.

"I heard nothing further on the subject for a year or more, and it was almost forgotten, when sometime, I should say during the long session of 1868, Mr. Ames spoke of it again, said the company had organized, was doing well, and, he thought, would soon pay large dividends. He said that some of the stock was left, or was to be left, in his hands to sell, and I could take the amount which Mr. Train had offered me by paying the \$1,000 and accrued interest. He said if I was not able to pay for it he would hold it for me until I could pay or until some of the dividends were payable. I told him I would consider the matter, but would not agree to take any stock until I knew, from an examination of the charter and the conditions of the subscription, the extent to which I would become pecuniarily liable. He said he was not sure, but thought a stockholder would only be liable for the par value of his stock; that he had not the stock and papers with him, but would have them after awhile. From the case as presented I should probably have taken the stock if I had been satisfied in regard to the extent of pecuniary liability. Thus the matter rested, I think, until the following year. During that interval I understood that there were dividends due amounting to nearly

three times the par value of the stock. But in the meantime I had heard that the company was involved in some controversy with the Pacific Railroad and that Mr. Ames' right to sell the stock was denied. When I next saw Mr. Ames I told him I had concluded not to take the stock. There the matter ended, so far as I was concerned, and I had no further knowledge of the company's operations until the subject began to be discussed in the newspapers last fall (1872). Nothing was ever said to me by Mr. Train or Mr. Ames to indicate or imply that the *Crédit Mobilier* was or could be in any way connected with the legislation of Congress for the Pacific Railroad or any other purpose. Mr. Ames never gave nor offered to give me any stock or other valuable thing as a gift. I once asked and obtained from him, and afterwards repaid to him, a loan of \$300; that amount is the only valuable thing I ever received from or delivered to him. I never owned, received, or agreed to receive any stock of the *Credit Mobilier* or of the Union Pacific Railroad, nor any dividends or profits arising from either of them."

Not content with denying the charges against him under oath, General Garfield, on the 3d of March, 1873, gave notice in the House that he should publish a review of the matter, and a full vindication of his course.

In May, 1873, he published the following review. We reproduce it entire, notwithstanding its length, as it is of the greatest importance to those who would know the true history of the case. The old charges will be revived and used during the Presidential campaign by partisan enemies of the Republican candidate, and it is

only right that every friend of General Garfield should have his masterly and unanswerable vindication at hand.

The review was prefaced with the following note :

“Since this review was written, the telegraph has announced the death of Mr. Ames. This circumstance may raise a question as to the propriety of publishing this paper ; but I gave notice in the House of Representatives, on the 3d of March last, that I should publish such a review, and I then indicated its scope and character. Furthermore, justice to the living cannot wrong the memory of the dead.

“In revising these pages, as they are passing through the press, I am glad to find no expressions, prompted by a spirit of bitterness, which the presence of death requires me to erase.

“J. A. GARFIELD.”

“*Washington, D. C., May 8, 1873.*”

REVIEW OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE CREDIT MOBILIER COMPANY,

And an Examination of that Portion of the Testimony taken by the Committee of Investigation and reported to the House of Representatives at the last session of the forty-second Congress, which relates to Mr. GARFIELD.

The events of the late winter recall forcibly a declaration made more than twenty-two centuries ago, by a man who possessed a profound knowledge of human nature and society. In answering a grave charge made

against his public conduct, he said he did not stand on equal ground with his accusers, for the reason that people listen to accusation more readily than to defence. This remark has sometimes been thought cynical and unjust; but there is much in our recent history that gives it force.

In no period of the political life of this country has the appetite for scandal been keener, or its exercise less restrained, than during the last year. One of our most brilliant and influential journalists, in an address delivered a few days since to a convention of his professional brethren in Indiana, while speaking of the present tone of the press, used this emphatic language:

The law presumes a man to be innocent until he is proved guilty.

The press, not merely usurping the functions of the law in arraigning a man whom the constable has no warrant to arrest, goes still farther, and assumes him, *prima facie*, to be guilty. After many weeks, if the case of the accused comes to trial, he is acquitted; the law makes him an honest man; but there is the newspaper which has condemned him, and cannot, with a dozen retractions, erase the impression left and the damage done by a single paragraph.

It might not be becoming in a layman, who feels in his own case the force of this paragraph, to volunteer such a declaration; but it is quite proper for him to testify to its truth when thus forcibly stated.

This paragraph from the address of the journalist finds a striking illustration in the history of the subject now under review.

In the autumn of 1872, during the excitement of the Presidential campaign, charges of the most serious

character were made against ten or twelve persons who were then, or had recently been, senators and representatives in Congress, to the effect that, five years ago, they had sold themselves for sundry amounts of stock of the Crédit Mobilier Company and bonds of the Pacific Railroad Company. The price at which different members were alleged to have bartered away their personal honor and their official influence was definitely set down in the newspapers; their guilt was assumed, and the public vengeance was invoked not only upon them, but also upon the party to which most of them belonged.

CREDIT MOBILIER INVESTIGATION.

By a resolution of the House, introduced by one of the accused members, and adopted on the first day of the late session, an investigation of these charges was ordered. The parties themselves and many other witnesses were examined; the records of the Crédit Mobilier Company and of the Pacific Railroad Company were produced; and the results of the investigation were reported to the House on the 18th of February. The report, with the accompanying testimony, was brought up in the House for consideration on the 25th of February, and the discussion was continued until the subject was finally disposed of, three days before the close of the session. The investigation was scarcely begun before it was manifest that the original charge, that stock was given to members as a consideration for their votes, was wholly abandoned, there being no proof whatever to support it.

But the charge assumed a new form, namely: That

the stock had been sold to members, at a price known to be greatly below its actual value, for the purpose of securing their legislative influence in favor of those who were managing and manipulating the Pacific Railroad for their own private advantage and to the injury both of the trust and of the United States. Eight of those against whom charges had been made in the public press, myself among the number, were still members of the House of Representatives, and were specially mentioned in the report. The committee recommended the adoption of resolutions for the expulsion of Messrs. Ames and Brooks, the latter on charges in no way connected with Mr. Ames or the other members mentioned. They recommended the expulsion of Mr. Ames for an attempt to influence the votes and decisions of members of Congress by interesting them in the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier*, and through it in the stock of the Union Pacific Railroad. They found that though Mr. Ames in no case disclosed his purpose to these members, yet he hoped so to enlist their interest that they would be inclined to favor any legislation in aid of the Pacific Railroad and its interests, and that he declared to the managers of the *Crédit Mobilier* Company at the time that he was thus using the stock which had been placed in his hands by the company.

Concerning the members to whom he had sold, or offered to sell, the stock, the committee say that they "do not find that Mr. Ames, in his negotiations with the persons above named, entered into any detail of the relations between the *Credit Mobilier* Company and the Union Pacific Company, or gave them any specific in-

formation as to the amount of dividends they would be likely to receive farther than has been already stated, [viz., that in some cases he had guaranteed a profit of ten per cent.] . . . They do not find as to the members of the present House above named, that they were aware of the object of Mr. Ames, or that they had any other purpose in taking this stock than to make a profitable investment. . . . They have not been able to find that any of these members of Congress have been affected in their official action in consequence of interest in the *Crédit Mobilier* stock. . . . They do not find that either of the above-named gentlemen in contracting with Mr. Ames had any corrupt motive or purpose himself or was aware Mr. Ames had any. Nor did either of them suppose he was guilty of any impropriety or even indelicacy in becoming a purchaser of this stock." And finally, that "the committee find nothing in the conduct or motives of either of these members in taking this stock, that calls for any recommendation by the committee of the House." (See pp. viii. ix. x.)

In the case of each of the six members just referred to, the committee sum up the results of the testimony, and from that summary the conclusions above quoted are drawn. In regard to me, the committee find: That, in December, 1867, or January, 1868, I agreed to purchase ten shares of *Crédit Mobilier* stock of Mr. Ames, for \$1,000, and the accrued interest from the previous July; that in June, 1868, Mr. Ames paid me a check on the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House for \$329, as a balance of dividends on the stock, above the purchase-price and accrued interest; and that thereafter, there

were no payments or other transactions between us, or any communication on the subject until the investigation began in December last. (See Report, p. vii.)

I took the first opportunity offered by the completion of public business to call the attention of the House to the above summary of the testimony in reference to me. On the 3d of March I made the following remarks, in the House of Representatives, as recorded in the *Congressional Globe* for that day :

Mr. Garfield, of Ohio.—I rise to a personal explanation. During the late investigation by the committee of which the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Poland) was the chairman, I pursued what seemed to be the plain path of duty, to keep silence except when I was called upon to testify before the committee. When testimony was given which appeared to be in conflict with mine, I waited, expecting to be called again if anything was needed from me in reference to these discrepancies. I was not recalled ; and when the committee submitted their report to the House, a considerable portion of the testimony relating to me had not been printed.

In the discussion which followed here I was prepared to submit some additional facts and considerations in case my own conduct came up for consideration in the House ; but the whole subject was concluded without any direct reference to myself, and since then the whole time of the House has been occupied with the public business. I now desire to make a single remark on this subject in the hearing of the House. Though the committee acquitted me of all charges of corruption in action or intent, yet there is in the report a summing up of the facts in relation to me which I respectfully protest is not warranted by the testimony. I say this with the utmost respect for the committee, and without intending any reflection upon them.

I cannot now enter upon the discussion ; but I propose, before long, to make a statement to the public, setting forth more fully the grounds of my dissent from the summing up to which I have

referred. I will only say now that the testimony which I gave before the committee is a statement of the facts in the case as I have understood them from the beginning. More than three years ago, on at least two occasions, I stated the case to two personal friends substantially as I stated it before the committee, and I here add that nothing in my conduct or conversation has at any time been in conflict with my testimony. For the present I desire only to place on record this declaration and notice.

In pursuance of this notice, I shall consider so much of the history of the Crédit Mobilier Company as has any relation to myself. To render the discussion intelligible, I will first state briefly the offences which that corporation committed, as found by the committees of the House.

HISTORY OF THE CREDIT MOBILIER COMPANY.

The Crédit Mobilier Company is a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, and authorized by its charter to purchase and sell various kinds of securities and to make advances of money and credit to railroad and other improvement companies. Its charter describes a class of business which, if honestly conducted, any citizen may properly engage in.

On the 16th of August, 1867, Mr. Oakes Ames made a contract with the Union Pacific Railroad Company to build six hundred and sixty-seven miles of road, from the one hundredth meridian westward, at rates ranging from \$42,000 to \$96,000 per mile. For executing this contract he was to receive in the aggregate \$47,925,000, in cash or in the securities of the company.

On the 15th of October, a triple contract was made between *Mr. Ames* of the *first part*, seven persons as

trustees of the *second part*, and the Crédit Mobilier Company of the *third part*, by the terms of which the Crédit Mobilier Company was to advance money to build the road, and to receive thereon seven per cent. interest and two and a half per cent. commission; the seven trustees were to execute the Ames contract, and the profits thereon were to be divided among them, and such other stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier Company as should deliver to them an irrevocable proxy to vote the stock of the Union Pacific held by them. The principal stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier Company were also holders of a majority of the stock of the Union Pacific Railroad.

On the face of this agreement, the part to be performed by the Crédit Mobilier Company as a corporation was simple and unobjectionable. It was to advance money to the contractors and to receive therefor about ten per cent. as interest and commission. This explains how it was that in a suit in the courts of Pennsylvania in 1870, to collect the State tax on the profits of the company, its managers swore that the company had never declared dividends to an aggregate of more than twelve present. The company proper did not receive the profits of the Oakes Ames contract. The profits were paid only to the seven trustees and to such stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier as had delivered to them the proxies on their Pacific Railroad stock. In other words, a ring inside the Crédit Mobilier obtained the control both of that corporation and of the profits of the Ames contract.

By a private agreement made in writing October 16, 1867, the day after the triple contract was signed, the seven trustees pledged themselves to each other so to

vote all the Pacific Railroad stock which they held in their own right or by proxy, as to keep in power all the members of the then existing board of directors of the railroad company not appointed by the President of the United States, or such other persons as said board should nominate. By this agreement, the election of a majority of the directors was wholly within the power of the seven trustees. From all this it resulted that the Ames contract and the triple agreement made in October amounted in fact to a contract made by seven leading stockholders of the Pacific Railroad Company with themselves; so that the men who fixed the price at which the road was to be built were the same men who would receive the profits of the contract.

The wrong in this transaction consisted, first in the fact that the stockholding directors of the Pacific Railroad, being the guardians of a great public trust, contracted with themselves; and, second, that they paid themselves an exorbitant price for the work to be done, a price which virtually brought into their own possession, as private individuals, almost all the property of the railroad company. The six hundred and sixty-seven miles covered by the contract included one hundred and thirty-eight miles already completed, the profits on which inured to the benefit of the contractors. (See Report of Crédit Mobilier Committee, No. 2, p. xiii.)

The Crédit Mobilier Company had already been engaged in various enterprises before the connection with the Ames contract. George Francis Train had once been the principal owner of its franchises, and it had owned some western lands (Wilson's Report, pp. 497, 8); but

its enterprises had not been very remunerative, and its stock had not been worth par. The triple contract of October, 1867, gave it at once considerable additional value. It should be borne in mind, however, that the relations of the Crédit Mobilier Company to the seven trustees, to the Oakes Ames contract, and to the Pacific Railroad Company, were known to but few persons until long afterward, and that it was for the interest of the parties to keep them secret. Indeed, nothing was known of it to the general public until the facts were brought out in the recent investigations.

In view of the facts above stated, it is evident that a purchaser of such shares of Crédit Mobilier stock as were brought under the operation of the triple contract would be a sharer in the profits derived by that arrangement from the assets of the Pacific Railroad, a large part of which consisted of bonds and lands granted to the road by the United States. The holding of such stock by a member of Congress would depend for its moral qualities wholly upon the fact whether he did or did not know of the arrangement out of which the profits would come. If he knew of the fraudulent arrangement by which the bonds and lands of the United States delivered to the Union Pacific Railroad Company for the purpose of constructing its road were to be paid out at enormously extravagant rates, and the proceeds to be paid out as dividends to a ring of stockholders made the Crédit Mobilier Company, he could not with any propriety hold such stock, or agree to hold it, or any of its proceeds. And for a member of Congress, knowing the facts, to hold under advisement a proposition to buy this stock would

be morally as wrong as to hold it and receive the profits upon it. If it was morally wrong to purchase it, it was morally wrong to hesitate whether to purchase it or not.

I put the case on the highest ethical ground, and ask that this rule be applied in all its severity in judging of my relations on this subject.

PROPOSITIONS TO BE DISCUSSED.

The committee found, as already stated, that none of the six members to whom Mr. Ames sold, or proposed to sell, the stock, knew of this arrangement. I shall, however, discuss the subject only in so far as relates to me, and shall undertake to establish three propositions :

First. That I never purchased nor agreed to purchase the stock, nor received any of its dividends.

Second. That though an offer was made, which I had some time under advisement, to sell me \$1,000 worth of the stock, I did not then know, nor had I the means of knowing, the real conditions with which the stock was connected, or the method by which its profits were to be made.

Third. That my testimony before the committee is a statement of the facts as I have always understood them ; and that neither before the committee nor elsewhere has there been, on my part, any prevarication or evasion on the subject.

MR. GARFIELD'S TESTIMONY

My testimony was delivered before the investigating committee on the 14th of January. That portion which precedes the cross-examination, I had written out soon

after the committee was appointed. I quote from it, with the cross-examination, in full, as found recorded on pp. 128 to 131:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 14, 1875.

J. A. Garfield, a member of the United States House of Representatives, from the State of Ohio, having been duly sworn, made the following statement:

The first I ever heard of the *Crédit Mobilier* was sometime in 1866 or 1867—I cannot fix the date—when George Francis Train called on me and said he was organizing a company to be known as the *Crédit Mobilier* of America, to be formed on the model of the *Crédit Mobilier* of France; that the object of the company was to purchase land and build houses along the line of the Pacific Railroad at points where cities and villages were likely to spring up; that he had no doubt that money thus invested would double or treble itself each year; that subscriptions were limited to \$1,000 each, and he wished me to subscribe. He showed me a long list of subscribers, among them Mr. Oakes Ames, to whom he referred me for further information concerning the enterprise. I answered that I had not the money to spare, and if I had I would not subscribe without knowing more about the proposed organization. Mr. Train left me, saying he would hold a place open for me, and hoped I would yet conclude to subscribe. The same day I asked Mr. Ames what he thought of the enterprise. He expressed the opinion that the investment would be safe and profitable.

I heard nothing further on the subject for a year or more, and it was almost forgotten, when sometime, I should say, during the long session of 1868, Mr. Ames spoke of it again; said the company had organized, was doing well, and he thought would soon pay large dividends. He said that some of the stock had been left or was to be left in his hands to sell, and I could take the amount which Mr. Train had offered me, by paying the \$1,000 and the accrued interest. He said if I was not able to pay for it then, he would hold it for me till I could pay, or until some of the dividends were payable. I told him I would consider the

matter ; but would not agree to take any stock until I knew, from an examination of the character and the conditions of the subscription, the extent to which I should become pecuniarily liable. He said he was not sure, but thought a stockholder would be liable only for the par value of his stock ; that he had not the stock and papers with him, but would have them after a while.

From the case, as presented, I should probably have taken the stock if I had been satisfied in regard to the extent of pecuniary liability. Thus the matter rested for some time, I think until the following year. During that interval I understood that there were dividends due amounting to nearly three times the par value of the stock. But in the meantime I had heard that the company was involved in some controversy with the Pacific Railroad, and that Mr. Ames's right to sell the stock was denied. When I next saw Mr. Ames I told him I had concluded not to take the stock. There the matter ended, so far as I was concerned, and I had no further knowledge of the company's operations until the subject began to be discussed in the newspapers last fall.

Nothing was ever said to me by Mr. Train or Mr. Ames to indicate or imply that the *Crédit Mobilier* was or could be in any way connected with the legislation of Congress for the Pacific Railroad or for any other purpose. Mr. Ames never gave, nor offered to give, me any stock or other valuable thing as a gift. I once asked and obtained from him, and afterwards repaid to him, a loan of \$300 ; that amount is the only valuable thing I ever received from or delivered to him.

I never owned, received, or agreed to receive any stock of the *Crédit Mobilier* or of the Union Pacific Railroad, nor any dividends or profits arising from either of them.

By the Chairman :

Question. Had this loan you speak of any connection in any way with your conversation in regard to the *Crédit Mobilier* stock ?
Answer. No connection in any way except in regard to the time of payment. Mr. Ames stated to me that if I concluded to subscribe for the *Crédit Mobilier* stock, I could allow the loan to re-

main until the payment on that was adjusted. I never regarded it as connected in any other way with the stock enterprise.

Q. Do you remember the time of that transaction? A. I do not remember it precisely. I should think it was in the session of 1868. I had been to Europe the fall before and was in debt, and borrowed several sums of money at different times and from different persons. This loan from Mr. Ames was not at his instance. I made the request myself. I think I had asked one or two persons before him for the loan.

Q. Have you any knowledge in reference to any dealings of Mr. Ames with any gentlemen in Congress in reference to the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier*? A. No, sir; I have not. I had no knowledge that Mr. Ames had ever talked with anybody but myself. It was a subject I gave but little attention to; in fact, many of the details had almost passed out of my mind until they were called up in the late campaign.

By Mr. Black:

Q. Did you say you refused to take the stock simply because there was a lawsuit about it? A. No; not exactly that. I do not remember any other reason which I gave to Mr. Ames than that I did not wish to take stock in anything that would involve controversy. I think I gave him no other reason than that.

Q. When you ascertained the relation that this company had with the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and whence its profits were to be derived, would you have considered that a sufficient reason for declining it irrespective of other considerations? A. It would have been as the case was afterwards stated.

Q. At the time you talked with Mr. Ames, before you rejected the proposition, you did not know whence the profits of the company were to be derived? A. I did not. I do not know that Mr. Ames withheld, intentionally, from me any information. I had derived my original knowledge of the organization of the company from Mr. Train. He made quite an elaborate statement of its purposes, and I proceeded in subsequent conversations upon the supposition that the organization was unchanged. I ought to say for myself, as well as for Mr. Ames, that he never said any

word to me that indicated the least desire to influence my legislative action in any way. If he had any such purpose, he certainly never said anything to me which would indicate it.

Q. You know now, and have known for a long time, that Mr. Ames was deeply interested in the legislation on this subject ? A. I supposed that he was largely interested in the Union Pacific Railroad. I have heard various statements to that effect. I cannot say I had any such information of my own knowledge.

Q. You mean that he did not electioneer with you or solicit your vote ? A. Certainly not. None of the conversations I ever had with him had any reference to such legislation.

By Mr. Merrick :

Q. Have you any knowledge of any other member of Congress being concerned in the Crédit Mobilier stock ? A. No, sir ; I have not.

Q. Or any stock in the Union Pacific Railroad ? A. I have not. I can say to the committee that I never saw, I believe, in my life, a certificate of stock of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and I never saw any certificate of stock of the Crédit Mobilier, until Mr. Brooks exhibited one, a few days ago, in the House of Representatives.

Q. Were any dividends ever tendered to you on the stock of the Crédit Mobilier upon the supposition that you were to be a subscriber ? A. No, sir.

Q. This loan of \$300 you have repaid, if I understand you correctly ? A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. McCrary :

Q. You never examined the charter of the Crédit Mobilier to see what were its objects ? A. No, sir ; I never saw it.

Q. If I understood you, you did not know that the Crédit Mobilier had any connection with the Union Pacific Railroad Company ? A. I understood from the statement of Mr. Train that its objects were connected with the lands of the Union Pacific Railroad Company and the development and settlements along that road ; but that it had any relation to the Union Pacific Railroad

other than that, I did not know. I think I did hear also that the company was investing some of its earnings in the bonds of the road.

Q. He stated it was for the purpose of purchasing land and building houses? A. That was the statement of Mr. Train. I think he said in that connection that he had already been doing something of that kind at Omaha, or was going to do it.

Q. You did not know that the object was to build the Union Pacific Railroad? A. No, sir; I did not.

This is the case as I understand it, and as I have always understood it. In reviewing it, after all that has been said and written during the past winter, there are no substantial changes which I could now make, except to render a few points more definite. Few men can be certain that they give with absolute correctness the details of conversations and transactions after a lapse of five years. Subject to this limitation I have no doubt of the accuracy of my remembrance concerning this transaction.

From this testimony it will be seen that when Mr. Ames offered to sell me the stock in 1867-'68, my only knowledge of the character and objects of the *Crédit Mobilier* Company was obtained from Mr. Train, at least as early as the winter of 1866-'67, long before the company had become a party to the construction contract. It has been said that I am mistaken in thinking it was the *Crédit Mobilier* that Mr. Train offered me in 1866-'67. I think I am not. Mr. Durant, in explaining his connection with the *Crédit Mobilier* Company, says (pp. 169, 170):

I sent Mr. Train to Philadelphia. We wanted it (the *Crédit Mobilier*) for a stock operation, but we could not agree what was

to be done with it. Mr. Train proposed to go on an expanded scale, but I abandoned it. I think Mr. Train got some subscriptions; what they were I do not know.

It has been said that it is absurd to suppose that intelligent men, familiar with public affairs, did not understand all about the relation of the *Crédit Mobilier Company* to the *Pacific Railroad Company*. It is a sufficient answer to say that, until the present winter, a few men either in or out of Congress ever understood it, and it was for the interest of those in the management of that arrangement to prevent these facts from being known. This will appear from the testimony of the Hon. J. F. Wilson, who purchased ten shares of the stock in 1868. In the spring of 1869 he was called upon professionally to give an opinion as to the right of holders of *Pacific Railroad* stock to vote their own shares, notwithstanding the proxy they had given to the seven trustees. To enable him to understand the case, a copy of the triple contract was placed in his hands. He says (page 213):

Down to the time these papers were placed in my hands, I knew almost nothing of the organization and details of the *Crédit Mobilier*, or the value of its stock, but then saw that here was abundant ground for future trouble and litigation, and, as one of the results, sold out my interest.

And again (p. 216):

Q. Do you, or did you know, at the time you had this negotiation with Mr. Ames, the value of the *Crédit Mobilier* stock?

A. I did not; and I wish to state here, in regard to that, that it was a very difficult thing to ascertain what was the value of the stock. Those who, as I say in my statement, possessed the secrets

of the *Crédit Mobilier*, kept them to themselves ; and I never was able to get any definite information as to what the value of the stock was.

When, in the winter of 1867-'68, Mr. Ames proposed to sell me some of the stock, I regarded it as a mere repetition of the offer made by Mr. Train more than a year before. The company was the same, and the amount offered me was the same. Mr. Ames knew it had formerly been offered me, for I had then asked him his opinion of such an investment ; and having understood the objects of the company, as stated by Mr. Train, I did not inquire further on that point.

There could not be the slightest impropriety in taking the stock, had the objects of the company been such as Mr. Train represented them to me. The only question on which I then hesitated was that of the personal pecuniary liability attaching to a subscription ; and, to settle that question, I asked to see the charter, and the conditions on which the stock were based. I have no doubt Mr. Ames expected I would subscribe. But more than a year passed without further discussion of the subject. The papers were not brought, and the purchase never was made.

In the winter of 1869-'70, I received the first intimation I ever had of the real nature of the connection between the *Crédit Mobilier* Company and the Pacific Railroad Company, in a private conversation with the Hon. J. S. Black, of Pennsylvania. Finding in the course of that conversation that he was familiar with the history of the enterprise, I told him all I knew about the matter, and informed him of the offer that had been made me. He

expressed the opinion that the managers of the *Crédit Mobilier* were attempting to defraud the Pacific Railroad Company, and informed me that Mr. Ames was pretending to have sold stock to members of Congress, for the purpose of influencing their action in any legislation that might arise on the subject.

Though I had neither done nor said anything which placed me under any obligation to take the stock, I at once informed Mr. Ames that if he was still holding the offer open to me he need do so no longer, for I would not take the stock. This I did immediately after the conversation with Judge Black, which according to his own recollection as well as mine, was early in the winter of 1869-'70.

One circumstance has given rise to a painful conflict of testimony between Mr. Ames and myself. I refer to the loan of \$300. Among the various criticisms that have been made on this subject, it is said to be a suspicious circumstance that I should have borrowed so small a sum of money from Mr. Ames about this time. As stated in my testimony, I had just returned from Europe, only a few days before the session began, and the expenses of the trip had brought me short of funds. I might have alluded in the same connection to the fact, that before going abroad I had obtained money from a banker in New York, turning over to him advanced drafts for several months of my Congressional salary when it should be due. And needing a small sum, early in the session, for current expenses, I asked it of Mr. Ames, for the reason that he had volunteered to put me in the way of making what he thought would be a profitable invest-

ment. He gave me the money, asking for no receipt, but saying at the time that if I concluded to take the stock we would settle both matters together. I am not able to fix the exact date of the loan, but it was probably in January, 1868.

Mr. Ames seemed to have forgotten this circumstance until I mentioned it to him after the investigation began; for he said in his first testimony (p. 28) that he had forgotten that he had let me have any money. I neglected to pay him this money until after the conversation with Judge Black, partly because of my pecuniary embarrassments, and partly because no conclusion had been reached in regard to the purchase of the stock. When I repaid him I took no receipt, as I had given none at the first.

Mr. Ames said once or twice, in the course of his testimony, that I did not repay it, although he says in regard to it, on page 358, that he does not know and cannot remember.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY.

On these differences of recollection between Mr. Ames and myself, it is not so important to show that my statement is the correct one, as to show that I have made it strictly in accordance with my understanding of the facts. And this I am able to show by proof entirely independent of my own testimony.

In the spring of 1868, the Hon. J. P. Robison, of Cleveland, Ohio, was my guest here in Washington, and spent nearly two weeks with me during the trial of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. There has existed

between us an intimate acquaintance of long standing, and I have often consulted him on business affairs. On meeting him since the adjournment of Congress, he informs me that while he was visiting me on the occasion referred to, I stated to him the offer of Mr. Ames, and asked him his opinion of it. The following letter, just received from him, states the conversation as he remembers it:

CLEVELAND, Ohio, May 1, 1873.

DEAR GENERAL:—I send you the facts concerning a conversation which I had with you (I think in the spring of 1868), when I was stopping in Washington for some days, as your guest, during the trial of the impeachment of President Johnson. While there, you told me that Mr. Ames had offered you a chance to invest a small amount in a company that was to operate in lands and buildings along the Pacific Railroad, which he (Ames) said would be a good thing. You asked me what I thought of it as a business proposition; that you had not determined what you would do about it, and suggested to me to talk with Ames, and form my own judgment; and if I thought well enough of it to advance the money and buy the stock on joint account with you, and let you pay me interest on the one-half, I could do so. But I did not think well of the proposition as a business enterprise, and did not talk with Mr. Ames on the subject.

After this talk, having at first told you I would give the subject thought, and perhaps talk with Ames, I told you one evening that I did not think well of the proposition, and had not spoken to Ames on the subject. Yours, truly,

J. P. ROBISON.

Hon. J. A. GARFIELD.

I subjoin two other letters, which were written about the time the report of the committee was made, and to which I refer in my remarks made on the 3d of March in the House of Representatives. The first is from a

citizen of the town where I reside; and the time of the conversation to which it alludes was, as near as I can remember, in the fall of 1868, during the recess of Congress :

HIRAM, Ohio, February 18, 1873.

DEAR SIR :—It may be relevant to the question at issue between yourself and Mr. Oakes Ames, in the *Crédit Mobilier* investigation, for me to state that three or four years ago, in a private conversation, you made a statement to me involving the substance of your testimony before the Poland Committee, as published in the newspapers. The material points of your statement were these :

That you had been spoken to by George Francis Train, who offered you some shares of the *Crédit Mobilier* stock; that you told him that you had no money to invest in stocks; that subsequently you had a conversation in relation to the matter with Mr. Ames; that Ames offered to carry the stock for you until you could pay for it, if you cared to buy it; and that you had told him in that case perhaps you would take it, but would not agree to do so until you had inquired more fully into the matter. Such an arrangement as this was made, Ames agreeing to carry the stock until you should decide. In this way the matter stood, as I understood it, at the time of our conversation. My understanding was distinct that you had not accepted Mr. Ames's proposition, but that the shares were still held at your option.

You stated further, that the company was to operate in real property along the line of the Pacific road. Perhaps I should add that this conversation, which I have always remembered very distinctly, took place here in Hiram. I have remembered the conversation the more distinctly from the circumstances that gave rise to it. Having been intimately acquainted with you for twelve or fifteen years, and having had a considerable knowledge of your pecuniary affairs. I asked you how you were getting on, and especially whether you were managing to reduce your debts. In reply you gave me a detailed statement of your affairs, and concluded by saying you had had some stock offered you, which, if

you bought it, would probably make you some money. You then proceeded to state the case, as I have stated it above.

I cannot fix the time of this conversation more definitely than to say it was certainly three, and probably four, years ago.

Very truly, yours,

B. A. HINSDALE,

President of Hiram College.

Hon. J. A. GARFIELD,

Washington, D. C.

The other letter was addressed to the Speaker of the House, and is as follows :

PHILADELPHIA, February 15, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR :—From the beginning of the investigation concerning Mr. Ames's use of the *Crédit Mobilier*, I believed that General Garfield was free from all guilty connection with that business. This opinion was founded not merely on my confidence in his integrity, but on some special knowledge of his case. I may have told you all about it in conversation, but I desire now to repeat it by way of reminder.

I assert unhesitatingly that, whatever General Garfield may have done or forborne to do, he acted in profound ignorance of the nature and character of the thing which Mr. Ames was proposing to sell. He had not the slightest suspicion that he was to be taken into a ring organized for the purpose of defrauding the public ; nor did he know that the stock was in any manner connected with anything which came, or could come, with the legislative jurisdiction of Congress. The case against him lacks the *scienter* which alone constitutes guilt.

In the winter of 1869-'70, I told General Garfield of the fact that his name was on Ames's list ; that Ames charged him with being one of his distributees ; explained to him the character, origin, and objects of the *Crédit Mobilier* ; pointed out the connection it had with Congressional legislation, and showed him how impossible it was for a member of Congress to hold stock in it without bringing his private interests in conflict with his public duty. That all this was to him a perfectly new revelation I am

as sure as I can be of such a fact, or of any fact which is capable of being proved only by moral circumstances. He told me, then, the whole story of Train's offer to him and Ames's subsequent solicitation, and his own action in the premises, much as he details it to the committee. I do not undertake to reproduce the conversation, but the effect of it all was to convince me thoroughly that when he listened to Ames he was perfectly unconscious of anything evil. I watched carefully every word that fell from him on this point, and did not regard his narrative of the transaction in other respects with much interest, because in my view everything else was insignificant. I did not care whether he had made a bargain technically binding or not ; his integrity depended upon the question whether he acted with his eyes open. If he had known the true character of the proposition made to him he would not have endured it, much less embraced it.

Now, couple this with Mr. Ames's admission that he gave no explanation whatever of the matter to General Garfield ; then reflect that not a particle of proof exists to show that he learned anything about it previous to his conversation with me, and I think you will say that it is altogether unjust to put him on the list of those who, knowingly and wilfully, joined the fraudulent association in question.

J. S. BLACK.

Hon. J. G. BLAINE,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

To these may be added the fact, recently published by Colonel Donn Piatt, of this city, that in the winter of 1869-'70 he had occasion to look into the history of the *Crédit Mobilier Company*, and found the same state of facts concerning my connection with it as are set forth in the letters quoted above.

Whether my understanding of the facts is correct or not, it is manifest from the testimony given above that in the spring of 1868, and in the autumn of that year, and again in the winter of 1869, when I could have no motive

to misrepresent the facts, I stated the case to these gentlemen, substantially as it is stated in my testimony before the committee.

RESPONSE TO THE CHARGE IN SEPTEMBER, 1872.

But it has been charged in the newspapers that during the Presidential campaign, I denied any knowledge of the subject, or at least that I allowed the impression to be made upon the public mind that I knew nothing of it. To this I answer, I wrote no letter on the subject and made no statement in any public address, except to deny in the broadest terms, the only charge then made, that I had been bribed by Oakes Ames.

When the charges first appeared in the newspapers, I was in Montana Territory, and heard nothing of them until my return on the 13th or 14th of September. On the following day I met General Boynton, correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, and related to him briefly what I remembered about the offer to sell the stock. I told him I should write no letter on the subject, but if he thought best to publish the substance of what I had stated to him he could do so. The same day he wrote and telegraphed from Washington to the *Cincinnati Gazette*, under date of September 15, 1872, the following, which is a brief but correct report of my statement to him :

General Garfield, who has just arrived here from the Indian country, has to-day had the first opportunity of seeing the charges connecting his name with receiving shares of the *Crédit Mobilier* from Oakes Ames. He authorizes the statement that he never subscribed for a single share of the stock, and that he never re-

ceived or saw a share of it. When the company was first formed, George Francis Train, then active in it, came to Washington and exhibited a list of subscribers, of leading capitalists and some members of Congress, to the stock of the company. The subscription was described as a popular one of \$1,000 cash. Train urged General Garfield to subscribe on two occasions, and each time he declined. Subsequently he was again informed that the list was nearly completed, but that a chance remained for him to subscribe, when he again declined, and to this day has not subscribed for or received any share of stock or bond of the company.

This dispatch was widely copied in the newspapers at the time, and was the only statement I made or authorized. One thing in connection with the case I withheld from the public. When I saw the letters of Oakes Ames to Mr. McComb, I was convinced, from what Judge Black had told me in 1869, that they were genuine, and that Ames had pretended to McComb that he had sold the *Crédit Mobilier* stock for the purpose of securing the influence of members of Congress in any legislation that might arise touching his interests. I might have published the fact that I had heard this, and now believed Ames had so represented it; though at the time Judge Black gave me the information I thought quite likely he was mistaken. I did not know to what extent any other member of Congress had had negotiations with Mr. Ames; but knowing the members whose names were published in connection with the charges, and believing them to be men of the highest integrity, I did not think it just either to them or to the party with which we acted, to express my opinion of the genuineness of Ames's letters at a time when a false construction would doubtless have been placed upon it.

Here I might rest the case, but for some of the testimony given by Mr. Ames in reference to myself. I shall consider it carefully, and shall make quotations of his language, or refer to it by pages as printed in the report, so that the correctness of my citations may, in every case, be verified

POINTS OF AGREEMENT AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MR. AMES AND MYSELF.

To bring the discussion into as narrow a compass as possible, the points of agreement and difference between Mr. Ames and myself may thus be stated:

We agree that, soon after the beginning of the session of 1867-'68, Mr. Ames offered to sell me ten shares of the *Crédit Mobilier* stock, at par and the accrued interest; that I never paid him any money on that offer; that I never received a certificate of stock; that after the month of June, 1868, I never received, demanded, or was offered any dividend, in any form, on that stock. We also agree that I once received from Mr. Ames a small sum of money. On the following points we disagree: He claims that I agreed to take the stock. I deny it. He claims that I received from him \$329, and no more, as a balance of dividends on the stock. This I deny; and assert that I borrowed from him \$300, and no more, and afterwards returned it; and that I never received anything from him on account of the stock.

In discussing the testimony relating to myself, it becomes necessary, for a full exhibition of the argument, to refer to that concerning others.

MR. AMES'S FIRST TESTIMONY.

It has been said that in Mr. Ames's first testimony, he withheld or concealed the facts generally; and hence, that what he said at that time concerning any one person is of but little consequence. The weight and value of his first testimony concerning any one person can be ascertained only by comparing it with his testimony given at the same examination concerning others.

In that first examination of December 17, as recorded on pp. 15-58, Mr. Ames mentions by name (pp. 19-21) sixteen members of Congress who were said to have had dealings with him in reference to *Crédit Mobilier* stock. Eleven of these, he says in that testimony, bought the stock; but he there sets me down among the five who did not buy it. He says (p. 21), "He [Garfield] did not pay for it or receive it."

He was, at the same time, cross-examined in regard to the dividends he paid to different persons; and he testified (pp. 23-41) that he paid one or more dividends to eight different members of Congress, and that three others, being original subscribers, drew their dividends, not from him, but directly from the company. To several of the eight he says he paid all the dividends that accrued.

But in the same cross-examination he testified that he did not remember to have paid me any dividends, nor that he had let me have any money. The following is the whole of his testimony concerning me, on cross-examination:

Q. In reference to Mr. Garfield, you say that you agreed to get ten shares for him and to hold them till he could pay for them, and that he never did pay for them nor receive them? A. Yes, sir.

Q. He never paid any money on that stock nor received any money from it? A. Not on account of it.

Q. He received no dividends? A. No, sir; I think not. He says he did not. My own recollection is not very clear.

Q. So that, as you understand, Mr. Garfield never parted with any money, nor received any money on that transaction? A. No, sir; he had some money from me once, some three or four hundred dollars, and called it a loan. He says that is all he ever received from me, and that he considered it a loan. He never took his stock, and never paid for it.

Q. Did you understand it so? A. Yes; I am willing to so understand it. I do not recollect paying him any dividend, and have forgotten that I paid him any money.—(P. 28).

* * * * *

Q. Who received the dividends? A. Mr. Patterson, Mr. Bingham, James F. Wilson did, and I think Mr. Colfax received a part of them. I do not know whether he received them all or not. I think Mr. Scofield received a part of them. Messrs. Kelley and Garfield never paid for their stock, and never received their dividends.—(P. 40).

Certainly, it cannot be said that Mr. Ames has evinced any partiality for me; and if he was attempting to shield any of those concerned, it will not be claimed that I was one of his favorites.

In his first testimony, he claims to have spoken from memory, and without the aid of his documents. But he did then distinctly testify that he sold the stock to eleven members, and paid dividends to eight of them. He not only did not put me in either of those lists, but distinctly testified that I never took the stock nor received the dividends arising from it.

MR. AMES'S SUBSEQUENT TESTIMONY.

His second testimony was given on the 22d January, five weeks after his first. In assigning to this and all his subsequent testimony its just weight, it ought to be said that before he gave it, an event occurred which made it strongly for his interest to prove a sale of the stock which he held as trustee. Besides the fact that McComb had already an equity suit pending in Philadelphia, to compel Mr. Ames to account to *him* for this same stock, another suit was threatened, after he had given his first testimony, to make him account to the company for all the stock he had not sold as trustee. His first testimony was given on the 17th December, and was made public on the 6th of January. On the 15th of January, T. C. Durant, one of the heaviest stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier Company, and for a long time its president, was examined as a witness, and said, (p. 173): "The stock that stands in the name of Mr. Ames, as trustee, I claim belongs to the company yet; and I have a summons in suit in my pocket waiting to catch him in New York to serve the papers." Of course, if as a trustee he had made sale of any portion of this stock, and afterward as an individual had bought it back, he could not be compelled to return it to the company.

Nowhere in Mr. Ames's subsequent testimony does he claim to *remember* the transaction between himself and me any differently from what he first stated it to be. But from the memoranda found or made after his first examination, he *infers* and declares that there was a sale

of the stock to me, and a payment to me of \$329 on account of dividends.

Here, again, his testimony concerning me should be compared with his testimony given at the same time concerning others.

The memoranda out of which his additional testimony grew, consisting of certificates of stock, receipts, checks on the Sergeant-at-Arms, and entries in his diary. I will consider these in the order stated.

To two members of Congress he delivered certificates of *Crédit Mobilier* stock, which as trustee he had sold to them (see pp. 267 and 290); and in a third case he delivered a certificate of stock to the person to whom a member had sold it. But Mr. Ames testified that he never gave me a certificate of stock; that I never demanded one; and that no certificate was ever spoken of between us. (See pp. 295, 296.)

In the case of five members, he gave to them, or received from them, regular receipts of payment on account of stock and dividends. (See pp. 21, 113, 191, 204, 337, 456, and 458.) But nowhere is it claimed or pretended that any receipt was ever given by me, or to me, on account of this stock, or on account of any dividends arising from it.

Again, to five of the members, Mr. Ames gave checks on the Sergeant-at-Arms, payable to them by name; and these checks were produced in evidence. (See pp. 333, 334, and 449.) In the case of three others, he produced checks bearing on their face the initials of the persons to whom he claimed they were paid. But he nowhere pretended to have or ever to have had any check

bearing either my name or my initials, or any mark or indorsement connecting it with me.

In regard to dividends claimed in his subsequent testimony to have been paid to different members, in two cases he says he paid all the dividends that accrued on the stock from December, 1867, to May 6, 1871. (See pp. 191 and 337.) In a third case, all the accretions of the stock were received by the person to whom he sold it, as the result of a resale. (See p. 217.) In a fourth case he claims to have paid money on the 22d September, 1868, on account of dividends (see p. 461); and in a fifth case he claims to have paid a dividend in full, January 22, 1869. (See p. 454.) One purchaser sold his ten shares in the winter of 1868-'69, and received thereon a net profit of at least \$3,000. Yet Mr. Ames repeatedly swears that he never paid me but \$329; that after June, 1868, he never tendered to me nor did I ever demand from him any dividend; and that there was never any conversation between us relating to dividends. (See pp. 40, 296, and 356.)

As an example of his testimony on this point, I quote from page 296. After Mr. Ames had stated that he remembered no conversation between us in regard to the adjustment of these accounts, the committee asked:

Q. Was this the only dealing you had with him in reference to any stock? A. I think so.

Q. Was it the only transaction of any kind? A. The only transaction.

Q. Has that \$329 ever been paid to you? A. I have no recollection of it.

Q. Have you any belief that it ever has? A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever loan General Garfield \$300 ? A. Not to my knowledge ; except that he calls this a loan.

Q. There were dividends of Union Pacific Railroad stock on these ten shares ? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did General Garfield ever receive these ? A. No, sir. He never has received but \$329. . . .

Q. Has there been any conversation between you and him in reference to the Pacific stock he was entitled to ? A. No, sir.

Q. Has he ever called for it ? A. No, sir.

Q. Have you ever offered it to him ? A. No, sir.

Q. Has there been any conversation in relation to it ? A. No, sir.

The assertion that he withheld the payment of dividends because of the McComb suit brought in November, 1868, is wholly broken down by the fact that he did pay the dividend to several persons during a period of two years after the suit was commenced.

The only other memoranda offered as evidence are the entries in Mr. Ames's diary for 1868. That book contains a separate statement of an account with eleven members of Congress, showing the number of shares of stock sold or intended to be sold to each, with the interest and dividends thereon. (See pp. 450 to 461.) Across the face of nine of these accounts, long lines are drawn, crossing each other, showing, as Mr. Ames says, that in each such case the account was adjusted and closed. Three of these entries of accounts are not thus crossed off (see pp. 451, 458, and 459,) and the three members referred to therein testify that they never bought the stock. The account entered under my name is one of three that are not crossed off. Here is the entry in full. (See p. 459 :)

GARFIELD.

10 shares Crédit M.....	\$1,000 00
7 mos, 10 days.....	43 36
	<hr/>
	1,043 36
80 per ct. bd. div., at 97.....	776 00
	<hr/>
	267 36
Int't to June 20.....	3 64
	<hr/>
	271 00
	<hr/> <hr/>
1,000 C. M.	
1,000 U. P.	

This entry is a mere undated memorandum, and indicates neither payment, settlement, or sale. In reference to it, the following testimony was given by Mr. Ames on cross-examination (see p. 460) :

Q. This statement of Mr. Garfield's account is not crossed off, which indicates, does it, that the matter has never been settled or adjusted ? A. No, sir ; it never has.

Q. Can you state whether you have any other entry in relation to Mr. Garfield ? A. No, sir.

Comparing Mr. Ames's testimony in reference to me, with that in reference to others, it appears that when he testified from his memory alone, he distinctly and affirmatively excepted me from the list of those who bought the stock or received the dividends ; and that subsequently, *in every case save my own*, he produced some one or more of the following documents as evidence, viz., certificates of stock ; receipts of money or dividends ; checks bearing either the full names or the initials of the persons to whom they purported to have been paid ; or entries, in his diary, of accounts marked

“adjusted and closed.” But no one of the classes of memoranda here described was produced in reference to me; nor was it pretended that any one such, referring to me ever existed.

In this review, I neither assert nor intimate that sales of stock are proved in the other cases referred to. In several cases such proof was not made. But I do assert that none of the evidences mentioned above exist in reference to me.

MR. AMES'S MEMORANDA.

Having thus stated the difference between the testimony relating to other persons, and that relating to me, I now notice the testimony on which it is attempted to reach the conclusion that I did agree to take the stock, and did receive \$329 on account of it.

On the 22d of January, Mr. Ames presented to the committee a statement of an alleged account with me, which I quote from page 397:

J. A. G.		Dr.
1868.	To 10 shares stock Crédit Mobilier of A.	\$1,000 00
	Interest	47 00
June 19.	To cash.....#.....	329 00
		<u>\$1,376 00</u>
		Cr.
1868.	By dividend bonds, Union Pacific Railroad, \$1,000, at 80 per cent, less 3 per cent .	\$776 00
June 17.	By dividend collected for your account.	600 00
		<u>1,376 00</u>

This account, and other similar ones presented at the same time, concerning other members, he claimed to have copied from his memorandum-book. But when the memorandum-book was subsequently presented, it was found that the account here quoted was not copied from it, but was made up partly from memory and partly from such memoranda as Mr. Ames had discovered after his first examination.

By comparing this account with the entry made in his diary, and already quoted, it will be seen that they are not duplicates, either in substance or form; and that in this account a new element is added, namely, an alleged payment of \$329 in cash on June 19. This is the very element in dispute.

THE CHECK ON THE SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.

The pretended proof that this sum was paid me is found in the production of a check drawn by Mr. Ames on the Sergeant-at-Arms. The following is the language of the check, as reported on page 353 of the testimony :

June 22, 1868.

Pay O. A. or bearer three hundred and twenty-nine dollars, and charge to my account.

OAKES AMES.

This check bears no indorsement or other mark, than the words and figures given above. It was drawn on the 22d day of June, and, as shown by the books of the Sergeant-at-Arms, was paid the same day by the paying-teller. But if this check was paid to me on the account just quoted, *it must have been delivered to me three*

days before it was drawn ; for the account says that I received the payment on the 19th of June.

There is nothing but the testimony of Mr. Ames that in any way connects this check with me. And, as the committee find that the check was paid to me, I call special attention to all the testimony that bears upon the question.

When Mr. Ames testified that he paid me \$329 as a dividend on account of the stock the following question was asked him (p. 295) :

Q. How was that paid ? A. Paid in money, I believe.

At a later period in the examination (p. 297) :

Q. You say that \$329 was paid to him. How was that paid ?

A. I presume by a check on the Sergeant-at-Arms. I find there checks filed, without indicating who they were for.

One week later, the check referred to above was produced, and the following examination was had (p. 353):

Q. This check seems to have been paid to somebody, and taken up by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Those initials are your own ?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who had the benefit of this check ? A. I cannot tell you.

Q. Do you think you received the money on it yourself ? A. I have no idea. I may have drawn the money and handed it to another person. It was paid in that transaction. It may have been paid to Mr. Garfield. There were several sums of that amount.

Q. Have you any memory in reference to this check ? A. I have no memory as to that particular check.

Still later in the examination occurs the following (p. 354) :

Q. In regard to Mr. Garfield, do you know whether you gave him a check, or paid him the money? A. I think I did not pay him the money. He got it from the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Still later, in the same examination, occurs the following (p. 355):

Q. You think the check on which you wrote nothing to indicate the payee must have been Mr. Garfield's? A. Yes, sir. That is my judgment.

On the 11th of February, twelve days later still, the subject came up again, and Mr. Ames said (p. 471):

A. I am not sure how I paid Mr. Garfield.

Still later, in a cross-examination in reference to Mr. Colfax, the following occurs (p. 471):

Q. In testifying in Mr. Garfield's case, you say you may have drawn the money on the check and paid him. Is not your answer equally applicable in the case of Mr. Colfax? A. No, sir.

Q. Why not? A. I put Mr. Colfax's initials on the check, while I put no initials on Mr. Garfield's, and I may have drawn the money myself.

Q. Did not Mr. Garfield's check belong to him? A. Mr. Garfield had not paid for his stock. He was entitled to \$329 balance. But Mr. Colfax paid for his, and I had no business with his \$1,200.

Q. Is your recollection in regard to this payment to Mr. Colfax any more clear than your recollection as to the payment to Mr. Garfield? A. Yes, sir; I think it is.

And finally, in the examination of Mr. Dillon, cashier of the Sergeant-at-Arms, the following is recorded (p. 479):

Q. There is a check payable to Oakes Ames or bearer. Have you any recollection of that? A. That was paid to himself. I have no doubt myself that I paid that to Mr. Ames.

Reviewing the testimony on this point (and I have quoted it all), it will be seen that Mr. Ames several times asserts that he does not know whether he paid me the check or not. He states positively that he has no special recollection of the check. His testimony is wholly inferential. In one of the seven paragraphs quoted, he says he paid me the money; in another he says he may have paid me the money; in three of them he thinks, or presumes, that he paid me the check; and in the other two he says he does not know.

The cashier of the Sergeant-at-Arms has no doubt that Mr. Ames himself drew the money on the check. And yet, upon this vague and wholly inconclusive testimony, and almost alone upon it, is based the assumption that I received from Mr. Ames \$329, as a dividend on the stock. I affirm, with perfect distinction of recollection, that I received no check from Mr. Ames. The only money I ever received from him was in currency.

The only other evidence in support of the assumption that he paid me \$329, as a balance on the stock, is found in the entries in his diary for 1868. The value of this class of memoranda depends altogether upon their character and upon the business habits of the man who makes them. On this latter point the following testimony of Mr. Ames, on page 34, is important:

Q. Is it your habit, as a matter of business, in conducting various transactions with different persons, to do it without making any memoranda? A. This was my habit. Until within a year or two I have had no bookkeeper, and I used to keep all my own matters in my own way, and very carelessly, I admit.

The memorandum-book in which these entries were

made was not presented to the committee until the 11th of February, one week before they made their report. This book does not contain continuous entries of current transactions, with consecutive dates. It is in no sense a day-book, but contains a loose, irregular mass of memoranda, which may have been made at the time of the transactions, or long afterward. Mr. Ames says of it in his testimony (p. 281):

Q. What was the character of the book in which the memoranda were made? A. It was in a small pocket memorandum, and some of it on slips of paper.

It is not pretended that this book contains a complete record of payments and receipts. And yet, besides the check already referred to, this book, so made up, contains the only evidence, or pretended evidence, on which it is claimed that I agreed to take the stock. It should be remembered that every portion of this evidence, both check and book, is of Mr. Ames's own making. I have already referred to the undated memorandum of an account in this book, under my name, and have shown that it neither proved a sale of stock, or any payment on account of it.

There are but two other entries in the book relating to me, and they are two lists of names, substantially duplicates of each other, with various amounts set opposite each. They are found on pages 450 and 453 of the testimony. The word "paid" is marked before the first name on one of these lists, and ditto marks placed under the word "paid" and opposite the remaining names. But the value of this entry as proof of payment will be

seen from the cross-examination of Mr. Ames, which immediately follows the list (p. 453):

Q. This entry, "Paid S. Colfax \$1,200," is the amount which you paid by this check on the Sergeant-at-Arms? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was this entry upon this page of these various names intended to show the amount you were to pay, or that you had paid; was that made at this date? A. I do not know; it was made about that time. I would not have written it on Sunday; it is not very likely. It was made on a blank page. It is simply a list of names.

Q. Were these names put down after you had made the payments, or before, do you think? A. Before, I think.

Q. You think you made this list before the parties referred to had actually received their checks, or received the money? A. Yes, sir; that was to show whom I had to pay, and who were entitled to receive the 60 per cent. dividend. It shows whom I had to pay here in Washington.

Q. It says "paid?" A. Yes, sir; well, I did pay it.

Q. What I want to know is, whether the list was made out before or after payment? A. About the same time, I suppose; probably before.

The other list, bearing the same names and amounts, shows no other evidence that the several sums were paid than a cross marked opposite each amount. But concerning this, Mr. Ames testifies that it was a list of what was to be paid, and that the cross was subsequently added to show that the amount had been paid.

Neither of these lists shows anything as to the time or mode of payment, and would nowhere be accepted as proof of payment. By Mr. Ames's own showing, they are lists of persons to whom he *expected* to pay the amounts set opposite their names. They may exhibit his expectations, but they do not prove the alleged payments. If

the exact sum of \$329 was received by me at the time and under the circumstances alleged by Mr. Ames, it implies an agreement to take the stock. It implies, furthermore, that Mr. Ames had sold Pacific Railroad bonds for me; that he had received also a cash dividend for me, and had accounted to me as trustee for these receipts, and the balance of the proceeds.

Now, I affirm, with the firmest conviction of the correctness of my statement, that I never heard until this investigation began, that Mr. Ames ever sold any bonds, or performed any other stock transactions on my behalf; and no act of mine was ever based on such a supposition.

INTERVIEWS WITH MR. AMES DURING THE INVESTIGATION.

The only remaining testimony bearing upon me, is that in which Mr. Ames refers to conversations between himself and me, after the investigation began. The first of these was of his own seeking, and occurred before he or I had testified. Soon after the investigation began, Mr. Ames asked me what I remembered of our talk in 1867-'68 in reference to the *Crédit Mobilier* Company. I told him I could best answer his question by reading to him the statement I had already prepared to lay before the committee when I should be called. Accordingly, on the following day, I took my written statement to the Capitol, and read it to him carefully, sentence by sentence, and asked him to point out anything which he might think incorrect. He made but two criticisms; one in regard to a date, and the other, that he thought it was the

Crédit Foncier and not the Crédit Mobilier that Mr. Train asked me to subscribe to in 1866-'67. When I read the paragraph in which I stated that I had once borrowed \$300 of him, he remarked, "I believe I did let you have some money, but I had forgotten it." He said nothing to indicate that he regarded me as having purchased the stock; and from that conversation I did not doubt that he regarded my statement substantially correct. His first testimony, given a few days afterward, confirmed me in this opinion.

I had another interview with Mr. Ames, of my own seeking, to which he alludes on pages 357 and 359; and for a full understanding of it, a statement of some previous facts is necessary. I gave my testimony before the committee, and in Mr. Ames's hearing, on the morning of January 14. It consisted of the statement I had already read to Mr. Ames, and of the cross-examination which followed my reading of the statement, all of which has been quoted above.

During that afternoon, while I was engaged in the management of an appropriation bill in the House, word was brought to me that Mr. Ames, on coming out of the committee-room, had declared in the hearing of several reporters that "Garfield was in league with Judge Black to break him down; that it was \$400, not \$300, that he had let Garfield have, who had not only never repaid it, but had refused to repay it." Though this report of Mr. Ames's alleged declaration was subsequently found to be false, and was doubtless fabricated for the purpose of creating difficulty, yet there were circumstances which, at the time, led me to suppose that the report was correct.

One was that Judge Black (who was McComb's counsel in the suit against Ames) was present at my examination, and had drawn out on cross-examination my opinion of the nature of Mr. Ames's relation to the Crédit Mobilier Company and the Union Pacific Company; and the other was, that in Mr. Ames's testimony of December 17, he had said (p. 28), "He [Mr. Garfield] had some money from me once, some three or four hundred dollars, and called it a loan." The sum of four hundred dollars had thus been mentioned in his testimony, and it gave plausibility to the story that he was now claiming that as the amount he had loaned me.

Supposing that Mr. Ames had said what was reported, I was deeply indignant; and, with a view of drawing from him a denial or retraction of the statement, or, if he persisted in it, to pay him twice over, so that he could no longer say or pretend that there existed between us any unsettled transaction, I drew some money from the office of Sergeant-at-Arms, and, going to my committee-room, addressed him the following note :

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 14, 1873.

SIR :—I have just been informed, to my utter amazement, that after coming out of the committee-room this morning, you said, in the presence of several reporters, that you had loaned me four instead of three hundred dollars, and that I had not only refused to pay you, but was aiding your accusers to injure you in the investigation. I shall call the attention of the committee to it, unless I find I am misinformed. To bring the loan question to an immediate issue between us, I inclose herewith \$400. If you wish to do justice to the truth and to me, you will return it and correct the alleged statement if you made it. If not, you will keep

the money and thus be paid twice and more. Silence on your part will be a confession that you have deeply wronged me.

J. A. GARFIELD.

Hon. OAKES AMES.

After the House had adjourned for the day, I found, on returning to my committee-room, that I had omitted to inclose the note with the money, which had been sent to the House post-office. I immediately sought Mr. Ames to deliver the note, but failed to find him at his hotel or elsewhere that evening. Early the next morning, January 15, I found him, and delivered the note. He denied having said or claimed any of the things therein set forth, and wrote on the back of my letter the following :

WASHINGTON, January 15, 1873.

DEAR SIR :—I return you your letter with inclosures, and I utterly deny ever having said that you refused to pay me, or that it was four instead of three hundred dollars, or that you was aiding my accusers. I also wish to say that there has never been any but the most friendly feelings between us, and no transaction in the least degree that can be censured by any fair-minded person. I herewith return you the four hundred dollars as not belonging to me.

Yours, truly,

OAKES AMES.

Hon. J. A. GARFIELD.

From inquiry of the reporters to whom the remarks were alleged to have been made, I had become satisfied that the story was wholly false, and when Mr. Ames added his denial, I expressed to him my regret that I had written this note in anger and upon false information. I furthermore said to Mr. Ames that, if he had any doubt in reference to the repayment of the loan, I wished him to keep the money. He refused to keep any part of it,

and his conversation indicated that he regarded all transactions between us settled.

Before I left his room, however, he said he had some memoranda which seemed to indicate that the money I had of him was on account of stock; and asked me if he did not, some time in 1868, deliver to me a statement to that effect. I told him if he had any account of that sort, I was neither aware of it, nor responsible for it; and thereupon I made substantially the following statement:

Mr. Ames, the only memorandum you ever showed me was in 1867-'68, when speaking to me of this proposed sale of stock, you figured out on a little piece of paper, what you supposed would be realized from an investment of \$1,000; and, as I remember, you wrote down these figures:

$$\begin{array}{r} 1,000 \\ 1,000 \\ 400 \\ \hline 2,400 \end{array}$$

as the amounts you expected to realize.

While saying this to Mr. Ames, I wrote the figures as above, on a piece of paper lying on his table, to show him what the only statement was he had made to me. It is totally false that these figures had any other meaning than that I have here given; nor did I say anything out of which could be fabricated such a statement as appears on pages 358, 359.

In his testimony of January 29, Mr. Ames gives a most remarkable account of this interview. Remembering the fact, by him undisputed, that there had been no communication between us on this subject for more than four years before this investigation began, notice the following (p. 358):

Q. Did you have any conversation in reference to the influence this transaction would have on the election last fall ? A. Yes, he said it would be very injurious to him.

Q. What else in reference to that ? A. I am a very bad man to repeat conversations ; I cannot remember.

That is, he makes me, on the 15th of January, 1873, express the fear that this transaction will injure me in the election of October, 1872!

Again, pages 357, 358 :

Q. You may state whether in conversation with you, Mr. Garfield claims, as he claims before us, that the only transaction between you was borrowing \$300. A. No, sir, he did not claim that with me.

Q. State how he did claim it with you ; what was said ? A. I cannot remember half of it. . . . He [Mr. Garfield] stated that when he came back from Europe, being in want of funds, he called on me to loan him a sum of money. He thought he had repaid it. I do not know ; I do not remember. . . .

Q. How long after that transaction [the offer to sell Crédit Mobilier stock] did he go to Europe ? A. I believe it was a year or two. . . .

Q. Do you not know that he did not go to Europe for nearly two years afterward ? A. No, I do not. It is my impression it was two years afterward, but I cannot remember dates.

I should think not, if this testimony is an example of his memory !

It is known to thousands of people that I went to Europe in the summer of 1867, and at no other time. I sailed from New York on the 13th of July, 1867, spent several days of August in Scotland, with Speaker Blaine and Senator Morrill, of Vermont, and returned to New York on the 9th of the following November—three weeks before the beginning of the session of Congress.

The books of the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House show that, before going, I had assigned several months' pay in advance to a banker, who had advanced me money for the expenses of the trip. To break the weight of this fact, which showed why I came to need a small loan, Mr. Ames says I did not go to Europe till nearly two years afterward.

If a reason be sought why he gave such testimony it may perhaps be found on the same page from which the last quotation is made (page 359) :

Q. How did you happen to retain that little stray memorandum? A. I do not know. I found it in my table two or three days afterward. I did not pay any attention to it at the time, until I found there was to be a conflict of testimony, and I thought that might be something worth preserving.

How did he find out after that time that "there was to be a conflict of testimony?" The figures were made on that piece of paper January 15, the day after I had given my testimony, and four weeks after he had given his first testimony. There was no conflict except what he himself made; and that conflict was as marked between his first statement and his subsequent ones, as between the latter and mine.

There runs through all this testimony now under consideration an intimation that I was in a state of alarm, was beseeching Mr. Ames "to let me off easily," "to say as little about it as possible," "to let it go as a loan," "to save my reputation," that I "felt very bad," was "in great distress," "hardly knew what I said," and other such expressions.

I should have been wholly devoid of sensibility if I

had not felt keenly the suspicions, the false accusations, the reckless calumnies with which the public mind was filled, while the investigation was in progress. But there is not the smallest fragment of truth in the statement, or rather the insinuation, that I ever asked or wanted anything from Mr. Ames on this subject, but simple justice and the truth.

The spirit in which a portion of the public treated the men whose conduct was being investigated, may be understood from the following question, put to Mr. Ames (page 361) in the midst of an examination, not at all relating to me :

Q. In that conversation with Mr. Garfield, was anything said by him about your being an old man, near the end of your career, and his being comparatively a young man ? A. No, sir ; nothing of that sort.

It is manifest that this question was suggested by some of the inventive bystanders, in hopes of making an item for a new sensation.

The most absurd and exaggerated statements were constantly finding their way into the public press, in reference to every subject and person connected with the investigation, and this question is an illustration.

In no communication with Mr. Ames did I ever say anything inconsistent with my testimony before the committee.

Conscious that I had done no wrong from the beginning to the end of this affair, I had nothing to conceal and no favors to ask, except that the whole truth should be known. I was in the committee-room but once during

the investigation, and I went there then only when summoned to give my testimony.

CONCLUSIONS.

From a review of the whole subject, the following conclusions are fairly and clearly established:—

I. That the *Crédit Mobilier* Company was a State corporation regularly organized; and that neither its charter nor the terms of the contract, of October 15, 1867, disclosed anything which indicated that the company was engaged in any fraudulent or improper enterprise.

II. That a ring of seven persons inside the *Crédit Mobilier* Company, calling themselves trustees, obtained the control of the franchises, and of a majority of the stock of both the *Crédit Mobilier* and of the *Union Pacific Railroad Company*; and while holding such double control, they made a contract with themselves by which they received for building the road an extravagant sum, greatly beyond the real cost of construction; and, in adjusting the payments, they received stock and bonds of the railroad company, at a heavy discount, and by these means virtually robbed and plundered the road, which was in great part built by the aid of the United States.

That these exorbitant profits were distributed, not to the stockholders of the *Crédit Mobilier* proper, but to the ring of seven trustees and their proxies—holders of this ring stock—and that this arrangement was kept a close secret by its managers.

III. That in 1867-'68, Mr. Ames offered to sell small amounts of this stock to several leading members of Con-

gress, representing it as an ordinary investment promising fair profits; but in every such offer he concealed from such members the real nature of the arrangement by which the profits were to be made, as well as the amount of dividends likely to be realized. While thus offering this stock, he was writing to one of his ring associates that he was disposing of the stock "where it would do most good," intimating that he was thereby gaining influence in Congress, to prevent investigation into the affairs of the road. His letters and the list of names which he gave to McComb represent many persons as having bought the stock who never did buy or agree to buy it, and also represent a much larger amount sold than he did actually sell. Mr. Ames's letters and testimony abound in contradictions, not only of his own statements, but also of the statements of most of the other witnesses; and it is fair, in judging of its credibility, to take into account his interests involved in the controversy.

IV. That in reference to myself the following points are clearly established by the evidence :

1. That I neither purchased nor agreed to purchase the *Crédit Mobilier* stock which Mr. Ames offered to sell me; nor did I receive any dividend arising from it. This appears from my own testimony; and from the first testimony given by Mr. Ames, which is not overthrown by his subsequent statements; and is strongly confirmed by the fact that in the case of each of those who did purchase the stock, there was produced as evidence of the sale, either a certificate of stock, receipt of payment, a check drawn in the name of the payee, or entries in Mr.

Ames's diary of a stock account marked "adjusted and closed;" but that no one of these evidences exists in reference to me. This position is further confirmed by the subsequent testimony of Mr. Ames, who, though he claims that I did receive \$329 from him on account of stock, yet he repeatedly testifies that beyond that amount I never received or demanded any dividend, that he did not offer me any, nor was the subject alluded to in conversation between us.

Mr. Ames admits, on page 40 of the testimony, that after December, 1867, the various stock and bond dividends, on the stock he had sold, amounted to an aggregate of more than 800 per cent.; and that between January, 1868, and May, 1871, all these dividends were paid to several of those who purchased the stock. My conduct was wholly inconsistent with the supposition of such ownership; for, during the year 1869, I was borrowing money to build a house here in Washington, and was securing my creditors by giving mortgages on my property; and all this time it is admitted that I received no dividends and claimed none.

The attempt to prove a sale of the stock to me is wholly inconclusive; for it rests, first, on a check payable to Mr. Ames himself, concerning which he several times says he does not know to whom it was paid; and second, upon loose undated entries in his diary, which neither prove a sale of the stock nor any payment on account of it.

The only fact from which it is possible for Mr. Ames to have inferred an agreement to buy the stock was the loan to me of \$300. But that loan was made months be-

fore the check of June 22, 1868, and was repaid in the winter of 1869; and after that date there were no transactions of any sort between us.

And finally, before the investigation was ended, Mr Ames admitted that on the chief point of difference between us he might be mistaken.

On page 356 he said he "considered me the purchaser of the stock, unless it was borrowed money I had of him;" and on page 461, at the conclusion of his last testimony, he said:

Mr. Garfield understands this matter as a loan; he says I did not explain it to him.

Q. You need not say what Mr. Garfield says. Tell us what you think.

A. Mr. Garfield might have misunderstood me. . . . I supposed it was like all the rest, but when Mr. Garfield says he mistook it for a loan; that he always understood it to be a loan; that I did not make any explanation to him, and did not make any statement to him; I may be mistaken. I am a man of few words, and I may not have made myself understood to him.

2. That the offer which Mr. Ames made to me, as I understood it, was one which involved no wrong or impropriety. I had no means of knowing and had no reason for supposing that behind this offer to sell me a small amount of stock, lay hidden a scheme to defraud the Pacific Railroad and imperil the interests of the United States. I was not invited to become a party to any scheme of spoliation, much less was I aware of any attempt to influence my legislative action, on any subject connected therewith. And on the first intimation of the real nature of the case, I declined any further consideration of the subject.

3. That whatever may have been the facts in the case, I stated them in my testimony as I have always understood them; and there has been no contradiction, prevarication, or evasion on my part.

This is demonstrated by the fact that I stated the case to Mr. Robison, in the spring of 1868, and to Mr. Hinsdale in the autumn of that year, and to Judge Black in the winter of 1869-'70, substantially as it is stated in my testimony before the committee.

I have shown that during the Presidential campaign I did not deny having known anything about the *Crédit Mobilier Company*; that the statement published in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, September 15, is substantially in accord with my testimony before the committee; and finally that during the progress of the investigation there was nothing in my conversation or correspondence with Mr. Ames in any way inconsistent with the facts as given in my testimony. To sum it up in a word: out of an unimportant business transaction, the loan of a trifling sum of money, as a matter of personal accommodation, and out of an offer never accepted, has arisen this enormous fabric of accusation and suspicion.

If there be a citizen of the United States who is willing to believe that for \$329 I have bartered away my good name, and to falsehood have added perjury, these pages are not addressed to him. If there be one who thinks that any part of my public life has been gauged on so low a level as these charges would place it, I do not address him. I address those who are willing to believe that it is possible for a man to serve the public without personal dishonor. I have endeavored in this review, to

point out the means by which the managers of a corporation, wearing the garb of honorable industry, have robbed and defrauded a great national enterprise, and attempted, by cunning and deception, for selfish ends, to enlist in its interest those who would have been the first to crush the attempt had their objects been known.

If any of the scheming corporations or corrupt rings that have done so much to disgrace the country by their attempts to control its legislation, have ever found in me a conscious supporter or ally in any dishonorable scheme, they are at full liberty to disclose it. In the discussion of the many grave and difficult questions of public policy which have occupied the thoughts of the nation during the last twelve years, I have borne some part; and I confidently appeal to the public records for a vindication of my conduct.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

If anything were needed to add weight to the above masterly defence it would be found in the following letter from Judge Poland, of Vermont, to ex-Governor Ryland Fletcher, of the same State. Judge Poland, it will be remembered, was the chairman of the *Crédit Mobilier* Investigating Committee :

“ST. JOHNSBURY, VT., July 2, 1880.

“I have mislaid or lost my copy of the evidence taken by the *Crédit Mobilier* Investigating Committee and their report, and although I have a very clear recollection of the general features of the whole matter, I should not attempt to say anything in regard to details without a re-perusal of the volume. But if I had it

before me, it does not seem to me that there is occasion or need that I should review it for the purpose of replying to such attacks on General Garfield as you have copied from the New York *Express*, or similar ones which may be found in many other Democratic papers. The transactions of Mr. Ames in *Crédit Mobilier* stock were more than a dozen years ago; the full investigation of the matter by the committee of which I was chairman was over eight years ago. At the time of the investigation the public mind was greatly excited on the subject, and it involved the character and reputation of so many prominent men that probably no mere personal matter ever was so thoroughly canvassed and discussed by the reading and intelligent people of the country. After the most exhaustive discussion and reflection, the judgment of the people of this country was made up as to each man who was named as connected with it. Saying nothing in regard to any other man, I think I may most truthfully say that this public and popular judgment fully and absolutely acquitted General Garfield of all wrong, either in act or intent, in relation to the matter. No man could have been continued in public life, and constantly risen in public standing and in the public estimation, by the consent and approval of the best men of both parties, as General Garfield has, if there existed a suspicion of wrong-doing against him. I regard this popular and continued verdict of the people as conclusive. Every effort to reopen and unsettle it will, in my judgment, only recoil upon those who attempt it. In my judgment, the Republican press and Republican speakers who may spend their time in re-

arguing a matter so many years ago passed into final judgment will only waste their breath. The great issues between the parties, which so largely affect the welfare of the people and the country, are the topics to be discussed and decided in the coming campaign. These are what the people desire to be enlightened upon; they are already satisfied that the \$329 case was finally and properly decided many years ago. I presume you have seen a short note I sent to the State Convention. In that I said all I wished to say.

“LUKE P. POLAND.”

Another charge brought against General Garfield was that in 1872 he received a fee of five thousand dollars for securing an appropriation in favor of a certain contract for paving certain streets of Washington City. This contract was in favor of what is known as the De Golyer pavement. At this time General Garfield was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and it was charged that he was paid this sum to secure his influence for the De Golyer Company. The truth was that the fee was paid him for services rendered as a lawyer, after the adjournment of Congress, and had no connection whatever with the appropriation granted by Congress. Grave charges having been brought against the De Golyer company, the House of Representatives appointed a committee to investigate the matter. Before this committee General Garfield appeared in February, 1879, and made the following statement which explains his true connection with the matter, and places the facts in the case so fairly and plainly before the public that the most

inveterate enemy must, if honest, acknowledge the success of his vindication, and acquit him of either intentional or actual wrong-doing. •

“ Mr. Garfield.—Mr. Chairman, I never saw this contract before, but I want to say a word in regard to the word ‘appropriation’ used in it. It has no more reference to Congress than it has to Great Britain. The Board of Public Works, under the general law and the legislation of the District government, made the appropriations themselves, and taxed the people of the District along the streets where these improvements were made, by the front foot; and I in common with other property-holders of the District, paid my assessment levied by the Board of Public Works for the improvements made in front of my property; and the appropriation here referred to is the appropriation by the District government, either out of the funds that it had raised by bonds issued on the credit of the District or by assessments by the District authorities upon the people whose property was improved. The only connection that the United States had with it in reference to appropriations was this:—Whenever the Board of Public Works laid a pavement on a street upon which any United States building or ground was situated, Congress, as a matter of course, as it does in every other city of the Union, paid its quota of the assessment per front foot. That is the only relation that Congress had to any of these improvements, except in so far as we have been compelled subsequently to advance money to pay the interest on their bonds which of course was a matter that nobody could have foreseen.

“Mr. Nickerson.—Allow me to ask you a question

“Mr. Garfield.—Certainly.

“Mr. Nickerson.—In view of your explanation, I ask you to state what this provision in this award in relation to that fifty thousand square yards refers to—what appropriation that refers to, around the parks or anywhere else?

“Mr. Garfield.—I cannot be expected to explain the language of this contract which I have never seen, but if the chairman will look at the Appropriation Bill, especially in 1873, he will find that there were three appropriations made; one (\$180,000, I think) to reimburse the old Washington corporation previous to the creation of the Board of Public Works, for work that was done around the Government reservation. The old canal had been filled up and the Smithsonian grounds had been bettered by that improvement, and there was an appropriation to reimburse the old corporation for that part of their improvements which lay opposite the public grounds of the United States; and in the same bill there was also an appropriation made to reimburse the Board of Public Works for the Government's share of the improvements made in front of the public buildings and grounds.

“The Chairman.—Do you recollect the amount of that appropriation?

“Mr. Garfield.—I think it was about \$180,000. I ought to say, however, that that was put on, not in the House but in the Senate. I was not on the conference; I had nothing to do with it. It was perfectly right if I had been on the committee, but I was not. That had no more to do with anybody's pavement, or with any par-

ticular contract for any particular patent or pavement, than with the man in the moon.

“Mr. Nickerson.—You haven’t answered my question. If your explanation is correct, can you say why it is that that 50,000 square yards is made absolutely contingent upon an appropriation to be made by Congress? That is a matter that would necessarily come directly before Congress.

“Mr. Garfield.—Not at all. It would come from the appropriation of the district authorities. Mr. Chairman, I never saw this contract before in my life, and I had nothing whatever to do with its terms, and therefore I am not responsible for any meaning that anybody may attribute to its language.

“Now, the whole story is plainly and briefly told. A day or two before the adjournment of the Congress which adjourned in the latter part of May or the first part of June, 1872, Richard C. Parsons, who was a practising lawyer in Cleveland, but was then the Marshal of the Supreme Court, and an old acquaintance of mine, came to my house and said that he was called away summarily by important business; that he was retained in a case on which he had spent a great deal of time, and that there was but one thing remaining to be done, to make a brief of the relative merits of a large number of wooden pavements; that the Board of Public Works had agreed that they would put down a certain amount of concrete, and a certain amount of other kinds of pavement; that they had fixed the price at which they would put down each of the different kinds, and that the only thing remaining was to determine which was the best pavement of each

of the several kinds. He said he should lose his fee unless the brief on the merits of these pavements was made, and that he was suddenly and necessarily called away home; and he asked me to prepare the brief. He brought his papers to my house and models of the pavement. I told him I could not look at the case until the end of the session. When Congress adjourned I sat down to the case, in the most open manner, as I would prepare a brief for the Supreme Court, and worked upon this matter. There were perhaps forty kinds of wood pavement and several chemical analyses of the ingredients of the different pavements. I went over the whole ground carefully and thoroughly, and prepared a brief on the relative claims of these pavements for the consideration of the board. This was all I did. I had nothing to do with the terms of the contract, I knew nothing of its conditions, and I never had a word to say about the conditions, and I never had a word to say about the price of the pavement. I knew nothing about it; I simply made a brief upon the relative merits of the various patent pavements; and it no more occurred to me that the thing I was doing had relation to a ring, or to a body of men connected with any scheme, or in any way connected with Congress, or related in any way to any of my duties in connection with the Committee on Appropriations, than it occurred to me that it was interfering with your personal rights as a citizen. I prepared the brief and went home. Mr. Parsons subsequently sent me a portion of his own fee. A year later, when the affairs of the District of Columbia came to be overhauled, Congress became satisfied that the government of the District had better

be abolished, and this whole matter was very thoroughly investigated by a committee of the two Houses. They went into the question of the merits of the pavement, some claiming that it was bad, and some claiming that the Government had paid too much for it. Mr. Chittenden was called as a witness. I ought to say here that I never saw Mr. Chittenden until about the time I made the brief; I did not and do not know De Golyer and McClelland; I would not know them on the street; I am not aware that I ever saw Mr. Nickerson before; and if anybody in this business had any scheme relating to me, it was never mentioned to me in the remotest way. It never was suggested to me that this matter could relate to my duties as a member of Congress in any way whatever. All that I did was done openly. Everybody who called on me could have seen what I was doing, and if there was any intention or purpose on the part of anybody to connect me in any way with any ring or any dishonorable scheme it was sedulously concealed from me. As I have said, three years ago a joint committee of the two Houses investigated this matter thoroughly. Mr. Parsons was summoned, and was examined, and cross-examined; Mr. Chittenden was examined; Mr. Nickerson was examined. When I heard that my name was being used in the matter, I went to the chairmen on both sides—for it was a joint committee. Senator Thurman, of my own State, was on the committee; Mr. Jewett, now President of the Erie Railway, was on the committee. I said to the chairmen that, if there was anything in connection with the case which reflected upon me, and that they thought I ought to answer, I would be obliged to

them if they would inform me. The chairman on the part of the House, Mr. Wilson, said that he had looked the matter all over, and that what I had done was perfectly proper ; but if anything should occur to make any explanation necessary, I could appear before the committee; he would send me word. He never did send for me. Very soon after that my political campaign in Ohio opened.

“ Every man in public life is blessed with enemies as well as friends ; and no sooner had my campaign opened than the New York *Sun* published thirteen columns, I believe, containing almost every form of public and private assault upon me, among other things quoting this testimony in such a way as to make it appear that what I had done compromised my position as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. I went before the people of my district and discussed the whole matter; and in a speech which was printed and circulated by thousands, every part and parcel of this charge was made as public as anything could be. It was revived to some extent in the campaign last fall, and all possible new light thrown upon it. In the course of the campaign of 1874 a gentleman from my district wrote in regard to it to Mr. Wilson, the chairman of the joint committee on the part of the House, and received a letter in reply, which I read :—

“ ‘ CONNELLSVILLE, Ind., Aug. 1, 1874.

“ ‘ Hon. George W. Steele — Dear Sir :—To the request for information as to whether or not the action of General Garfield, in connection with the affairs of the District of Columbia, was the subject of condemnation in the committee that recently had those affairs under con-

sideration, I answer that it was not; nor was there, in my opinion, any evidence that would have warranted any unfavorable criticism upon his conduct.

“ ‘The facts disclosed by the evidence, so far as he is concerned, are briefly these :

“ ‘The Board of Public Works was considering the question as to the kind of pavements that should be laid. There was a contest as to the respective merits of various wooden pavements. Mr. Parsons represented, as attorney, the De Golyer and McClellan patent, and being called away from Washington about the time the hearing was to be had before the Board of Public Works on this subject, procured General Garfield to appear before the board in his stead and argue the merits of his patent. This he did, and this was the whole of his connection in the matter. It was not a question as to the kind of contract that should be made, but as to whether this particular kind of pavement should be laid. The criticism of the committee was not upon the *pavement* in favor of which General Garfield argued, but was upon the *contract* made with reference to it; and there was no evidence which would warrant the conclusion that he had anything to do with the latter. Very respectfully, etc.,

“ ‘J. M. WILSON.’

“I want to say this, further: That if anybody in the world holds that my fee in connection with this pavement, even by suggestion or implication, had any relation whatever to any appropriation by Congress for anything connected with the District, or with anything else, it is due to me, it is due to this committee, and it is due to Con-

gress, that that person be summoned. If there be a man on this earth who makes such a charge, that man is the most infamous perjurer that lives, and I shall be glad to confront him anywhere in this world. I am quite sure this committee will not allow hearsay and contradictory testimony to raise a presumption against me. Now, I will say very frankly to the committee that, if I had known or imagined that there was an intent such as this witness insinuates, on the part of anybody, that my employment by a brother lawyer to prepare a brief on a perfectly legitimate question—a question of the relative merits of certain lawful patents—had any connection whatever, or any supposed connection in the mind of any man, with my public duties, I certainly would have taken no such engagement. I would have been a weak and very foolish man to have done so, and I trust that gentlemen who know me will believe that I would at least have had too much respect for my own ambition to have done such a thing.

“By the Chairman—Q. What was the amount that Mr. Parsons did pay you of his fee? A. Five thousand dollars. I do not think he mentioned any sum at the time he asked me to make the argument. He said that he was to receive a large fee, and he would share it with me. I am not sure that he then mentioned the amount, or what he would pay me, but he said that the fee was a large one, and that there was a large amount involved. When I made the argument I went home to Ohio, and some time in the month of July, I think, or perhaps a month afterwards, Mr. Parsons deposited in bank to my credit \$5,000.

By Mr. Culbertson—Q. Who paid those fees. A. I do not know. I never knew anything about that at all. Mr. Parsons engaged me. Nobody else spoke to me about it. The only relation I had to it at all was with him. Mr. Parsons' testimony on the subject is very full, and is true, as I remember it.

“By the Chairman—Q. Did Mr. Parsons say to you that his fee or yours would be contingent on the award of a contract for 200,000 square yards of pavement? A. Oh, no, sir; I do not think he said that. He said: ‘I am in danger of losing an important fee unless I make this argument, and I cannot do it; I must go away, and I will pay you a share of what I get if you will make the brief.’ I don't remember that he said whether it was contingent or absolute. I simply acted on his request.

“Q. Your brief was made and filed? A. Certainly. I labored over the case a good many days. I remember among other papers which I examined were some pamphlets giving an account of the working of this pavement in California, and, I think, in Chicago. There were two or three chemical analyses of the materials used I had to examine; I think nearly forty of the different patents. The understanding was that the merits of the different competing pavements were to be laid before the board in order that they might determine their relative merits. I do not think I knew anything about the price that was to be paid per square yard; certainly it was none of my affair; I had nothing to do with it or to say about it.

“By Mr. Pratt—Q. It was not involved in the question submitted to you? A. It was not involved in the question at all, because, as I understood, the

Board of Engineers had beforehand determined that for wood pavements they would pay so much, for concrete so much, and for other kinds so much. The property-holders on a street made a request for whichever pavement they preferred—concrete, Belgian, or wooden—and, when the petitions of the property-holders were filed with the board, they gave the different streets the kinds of pavement asked for by the people.

“By the Chairman—Q. Had you any knowledge at the time that the Advisory Board had passed a condemnatory judgment upon this? A. I had not, nor have I now. I only knew that there was a considerable amount of wooden pavement to be laid, because the citizens had asked for it. I had no knowledge of the matter except what I had got from the papers before me. I recollect among other things, that it was certified from the Board of Public Works of Chicago that this pavement had stood there better than any other wooden pavement they had ever had, and I believe there was similar testimony from the city authorities of San Francisco.

“Q. Had you any previous knowledge as an expert in the qualities of different pavements? A. I had had considerable experience in patents and patent law generally; I had been engaged in the Goodyear rubber case in the Supreme Court, and I was familiar with patent law. I have been practising in the Supreme Court here since 1866; I do practice constantly, as much as my public duties allow.

“Q. Do you recollect whether at the subsequent session of Congress there was \$1,200,000 appropriated

for the Board of Public Works? A. I remember that there was a large appropriation made for improvements made by the Board of Public Works in front of the public buildings and grounds, but none was made for any particular pavement or contract. I do not remember how large the appropriation was, for it was put on in the Senate, in the last hours of the session, while I was on a conference on the unfortunate salary bill, and was adopted while I was out, and I knew nothing at all about its origin or progress. I know that in one of the bills that I had charge of at about that time there was a restrictive clause upon the board inserted, because we thought it had begun to do too much.

“The Chairman.—I don't think, Mr. Garfield, that it has been testified here, directly, that any proposition, in so many words, was made to you in relation to any appropriation made by Congress, but there have been put in evidence here extracts from letters, which were written by Chittenden from this city to De Golyer and McClelland, after interviews with you.

“Mr. Garfield.—Of course, Mr. Chairman, you will see the utter impossibility of one man being made responsible for what another man writes about him. I cannot, of course, say what has been written about me. If I had it all before me, it would be a very mixed chapter, I have no doubt, as it would be in the case of any of us.

“The Chairman.—There has been no direct testimony that any such proposition was ever made to you.

“Mr. Garfield.—If there is any testimony of that sort it is false, and I shall be obliged if you will let me know.”

CHAPTER X.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.—GENERAL GARFIELD NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Chicago Convention—Description of the Hall—General Garfield a Delegate from Ohio—Cordial Reception by the Convention—Opening of the Proceedings—The First Day's Work—Events of the Second Day—The Struggle between Grant and Blaine—Parliamentary Skirmishing—Proceedings of the Third Day—Report of the Committee on Credentials—The Evening Session—The Fight over Illinois—The Fourth Day's Session—The Grant Lines show Signs of Weakness—Garfield's Masterly Management of the Ohio Delegation—Nomination of Candidates—Blaine and Grant Presented—General Garfield Nominates John Sherman—A Noble Speech—The Fifth Day's Session—Balloting for the Presidential Candidates—A Stubborn Fight—A Detailed Statement of the Ballots—The Sixth and Last Day—Wisconsin Votes for Garfield—The General endeavors to Stop the Movement in his Favor—He is unsuccessful—The Break to Garfield—The Thirty-sixth Ballot—Garfield Nominated for the Presidency—Exciting Scenes in the Convention—The Nomination Made Unanimous—Nomination of Vice-President—How Garfield's Nomination was brought about—Platform of the Republican Party for 1880.

THE National Convention of the Republican party met at Chicago, on the 2d of June, 1880. General Garfield attended it as the leader of the delegation from Ohio.

The place of meeting was the large hall of the Exposition Building. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* said of it on the day the convention assembled:

“The entire building is divided into sections—A, B,

C, and so on. Each section has its door, each door its official, each official the Chicago courtesy, passing which, the visitor finds himself in a hall 300 feet long and 150 feet wide. The platform is in the south end and the seats for delegates and alternates on the main floor running from the platform back about two hundred feet. On the other side of this, and running entirely round the building, are commodious galleries capable of seating in the neighborhood of nine thousand people. This, with the space for delegates, gives a seating capacity of between ten thousand and eleven thousand persons. The crowd outside is immense, and has been since early morning; but as the rules of admission are rigidly enforced the outsiders are compelled to content themselves with cheers and shouts and an occasional growl. The delegations which had been bothered beyond conception in getting tickets of admission were very slow in arriving. At half-past eleven there was no one in the hall beyond a large and very active band and a few enterprising correspondents who remembered the luck of the early bird.

"Little banners, shield-shaped, with Alabama, Arizona, and so on, printed on them, indicated the situation of each delegation. The A's sat in the front benches, and the rest of the alphabet followed seriatim. The consequence is that Texas, West Virginia, and the other low down letters are much nearer the band and the rear than they fancy. To compare it with Madison Square Garden, imagine the stage placed at the Madison Avenue end and benches placed on the floor back to the cascade, where the band forms the lower line of a high stretch of seats for the public. The Alabama delegates are in the upper

left-hand corner, having all of seat 1 and part of seat 22. Then follow, in order, down the left side, including all of the first row and a portion of the second, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, and Illinois, ending with Indiana in the lower left corner. Iowa commences with the right end of No. 45 and left end of No. 69. Then, in order, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, ending with Arizona, and the District of Columbia on seat No. 46. Nebraska commences on No. 70, then follow down Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Dakota, Idaho and Montana, ending with New Mexico on No. 93. Utah is on the lower right corner. Then follow up on the right side, in order, Washington Territory, Texas, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, ending with Wisconsin in upper right corner on seat No. 96. Alternates are arranged in strictly alphabetical order. Commencing with Alabama, on seat No. 115, they follow down to No. 144, then commence with No. 174, running up to No. 145. Next comes No. 175, running down to No. 204, where the Wisconsin alternates will be seated."

General Garfield's appearance in the Convention was greeted with enthusiastic applause from the delegates and the audience. After the organization of the Convention he was appointed one of the Committee on Rules. This appointment was received with applause. A despatch to the *New York Herald* from Chicago that night, said:

“The name of General Garfield is also assuming prominence as a possible nomination of the Ohio delegation, should it be necessary to withdraw the name of Mr. Sherman. General Garfield will present the name of Mr. Sherman, and his speech and manner, it is thought, will make a very favorable impression on the Convention. The applause which greeted the name to-day when it was announced that he had been selected by the Ohio delegation to serve in the Committee on Rules was a marked compliment to him, which has not been forgotten to-night in the calculations of the thoughtful men.”

The hour appointed for the meeting of the Convention was twelve o'clock Wednesday, June 2, 1880. “The Alabama delegation,” says Mr. A. K. McClure, writing to the *Philadelphia Times*, “was first to file in as a body, and its two rows of President-makers nestled down in front of the stage, displaying every shade of complexion, from the pure white to the genuine African. Arkansas fell in greatly behind Alabama, with the familiar face of ex-Senator Dorsey at the head. Meantime the places allotted to the various States were being rapidly filled up by the rank and file of the delegations. But the leaders were slow in getting to their respective commands. The dignitaries who had been assigned to the seats for distinguished guests began to swarm in, and Frye, of Maine, and Chandler, of New Hampshire, buzzed them as they gathered in little knots to discuss the situation. General Beaver, chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation, swung himself along the side aisle on his crutches and sat down at the post of honor for his State, with Quay close by his side, and Cessna flitted hither and thither as if uncer-

tain that anything would be well done unless he gave it a helping hand. McManes dropped in late, a little paled by illness, but with all his Scotch-Irish doggedness written in his face. Jewell and Creswell, both of the Grant cabinet, came in about the same time, the first hoping to look down on the defeat of his old chief from the gallery of distinguished guests, and the other marshalling his delegation to give him back his Old Commander.

"Both look fresh and rosy as they did when they hugged their portfolios and enjoyed the hollow homage that is paid to honor at the Capital. The tall, sturdy form of 'Long John' Wentworth towered over all as he joined his delegation. He is stouter, redder, grayer and balder than eight years ago, when he rebelled against Grant. He has returned to his first love, and now wilts down his collars early in the morning working and cheering for the Silent Man.

"Just when the building had pretty nearly filled up there was a simultaneous huzzah throughout the hall and galleries, and it speedily broke out in a hearty applause. The tall and now silvered plume of Conkling was visible in the aisle, and he strode down to his place at the head of his delegation with the majesty of an emperor. He recognized the compliment by a modest bow, without lifting his eyes to the audience, and took his seat as serenely as if on a picnic and holiday. He has aged rapidly during the last year, and his once golden locks are thinned and whitened, while hard lines dispel the brightness of his finely-chiselled face. The Grant men seemed to be more comfortable when they found him by their side and evidently ready for the conflict. The sable Grant men from

the South, who believe Grant to be their political savior, look upon Conkling as his prophet, and they worship him as a demigod. Logan's swarthy features, flowing moustache and Indian hair were next visible on the eastern aisle, but he stepped to the head of his delegation so quietly that he escaped a special welcome. He sat as if in sober reflection for a few moments and then hastened over to Conkling to perfect their counsel on the eve of battle. The two senatorial leaders held close conference until the bustle about the chair gave notice that the opposing lines were about to begin to feel each other and test their position.

"Cameron had just stepped upon the platform with the elasticity of a boy, and his youthful but strongly-marked face was recognized at once. There was no applause. They all knew that he never plays for the galleries and that cheers are wasted upon him. The man who can bring him votes when he is in want of them can make his cold gray eyes kindle and his usually stolid features toy with a smile, but no man in the land more justly estimates the crowd that ever cheers the coming guest than does Cameron. He quietly sat down for ten minutes, although the time for calling the convention to order had passed by an hour, and he looked out upon the body so big with destiny for himself and his Grant associates. Passing by I asked him: 'What of the battle?' To which he answered: 'We have three hundred to start with, and we will stick until we win.'

"It was said with all the determination that his positive manner and expression could add to language, and it summed up his whole strategy. While he waited the

vacant places were fast filling up. Generals Sewell and Kilpatrick took their posts at the head of the New Jersey men, and just behind them the rosy faces of Garfield and Foster and the tall, spare form of Dennison were holding a hasty last council of the Sherman wing of the opposition. The youthful olive-shaded features of Bruce, of Mississippi, were visible in the centre of his delegation, and the dream of the Vice-Presidency made him restless and anxious.

“At five minutes after one Cameron quickly rose from his chair, advanced to the front and brought his gavel down gently upon the speaker’s desk. At once the confused hum of voices began to still, and the nearly ten thousand people present settled into perfect order. Cameron stood for half a minute after silence had been obtained, apparently free from all embarrassment, and finally said, in a clear voice :

“ ‘The convention will come to order, and will be opened with prayer.’

“The prayer followed, and was a very satisfactory test of the acoustic qualities of the hall. Then followed the reading of the call by Secretary Keogh, when Cameron enlisted the utmost attention by adjusting his eye-glasses and drawing from his coat-pocket a single sheet of foolscap paper. All knew that he would speak briefly, if at all, and that if he had anything to say he would say it with directness, and none were mistaken. In a speech of not over two minutes he got in some most telling blows for Grant, which were warmly cheered. He read his speech, and the delivery was clear and forcible.

“He closed by nominating Hoar for temporary chair

man and put the question at once, and the unanimous approval of the convention, as evinced by its mingled votes and cheers, transferred the organization of the body to the anti-third-term combination. They breathed more freely when they saw Cameron out of the chair and Hoar in his place. But Cameron retired complacently, and both sides seemed to understand that victory to either depended upon the skill or accidents of future conflicts. Senator Hoar's benignant face and clerical cloth of the modern Puritan pattern were presented to the convention, and hearty applause greeted them. Mr. Hoar delivered an appropriate address, which was well received, and the work of the convention began.

“Hale, of Maine, first took the floor as Blaine's chief lieutenant. Every one waited eagerly to hear whether he was about to open the battle, but he simply offered the usual resolutions for a call of States to report committee-men. Routine business dragged along for some time, when Frye, of Maine, arose on the platform and called attention to the omission of Utah from the committee on credentials. He is Hale's fellow-leader of the Blaine men, and he is a fluent and skilful debater. His motion to have Utah represented in the committee was soon understood to be an attack on a vital part of the Grant line. As Conkling rose in his majestic and peaceful way to reply, a storm of applause welcomed him as the ‘leader of leaders.’ He at once locked horns with the gritty Blaine advocate. He made a most plausible special plea for the omission of Utah along with Louisiana, but Frye came back with the statement of the secretary of the National Committee that the omission was an accident and a mis-

take, and called out the ever-ready enthusiasm of the Blaine side. Conkling saw that his position was untenable, and he fell back in excellent order. The fiery Logan mounted his chair and offered a resolution for the admission of the five hundred veteran soldiers who are attending the convention. He knows just how to make a clap-trap speech for the veterans, and as they are generally Grant men, who were brought here to help the cause along, he played his veteran card for all that was in it. General Kilpatrick, who loves to speak on all questions, and especially on behalf of the soldiers, seconded Logan's effort. The anti-Grant men did not dare to offer opposition to the Grant reserves, for the galleries and Logan carried his motion, with generous applause from the Grant men.

"That ended the skirmishing in the field for the day, and Conkling hastened an adjournment until to-morrow at eleven o'clock without a contest. The battle was then transferred back to the lobbies of the hotels.

"The convention reassembled at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 3d of June. Conkling strode majestically down the aisle, bowed to the cheers which greeted him on every side, and the smile that played upon his face told that his antagonists, with a clear majority against him, had given him another day to lash them and a chance to return them defeat for their blunder. Cameron was with his delegation on the floor, as were Logan, Cresswell, and Boutwell, and they all displayed the self-satisfaction of repulsed chieftains who felt confident of fearfully punishing if not routing the Blaine men before the battle closed. Hamlin's dark face deepened the lines of age by the anx-

lety that he could not conceal about the result of a battle that had to be fought for a day in skirmishes against superior strategists. A general engagement would give them certain victory if it could be forced at once. Fryo and Hale were nervous and fretful under their now visible mistake, and attempted to relieve their error only to be defeated by Garfield finally coming in against their unprotected flank. After they had forced him into the action Conkling opened what he knew could be only an affair of outposts and one in which he must suffer least. With utmost coolness and all the air of a master he rose and moved a recess until six o'clock, giving the plausible reasons that the committee on credentials could not report earlier than four, and that the convention should not attempt any important business until its membership was ascertained. Hale sprang to his feet to grapple with the half-vanquished but yet fearfully dangerous Grant champion. He pleaded against delay, and quoted the precedent of Cincinnati in 1876, when the committees on rules and organization reported before the committee on credentials. He spoke well, but illy concealed the knowledge that Conkling was seeking to profit as large and as conspicuously as possible by a Blaine blunder.

“Conkling’s reply was masterly in its unexpressed contempt and scathing sarcasm. His keen arrow struck just where he had aimed it, and Hale’s irritation broke his voice so that his reply was unimpressive. But he got in a parting shot at his antagonist that allowed him to cover his retreat in a storm of applause. Both exhibited the utmost bitterness, but Conkling’s polished oratory made even his venom sublime. Hale won on the first vote by

defeating Conkling's motion, and while the now growing Blaine enthusiasm shouted over the victory, Conkling smiled and coolly waited his time, that he knew was near at hand. The report of the committee on organization was made and disposed of in a few minutes. When they came to the front to retrieve the Blaine folly of delaying the committee on credentials, by moving that the committee on rules be instructed to report, both sides knew what the report was, and that it contained one rule limiting speakers to five minutes. If they could carry that report, before the report of the committee on contested seats, the blunder of delay would be partially corrected, as it would prevent the debate against time that the Grant men mean to make on the disputed delegations. Logan tried to drive Frye back by points of order, but failed, and when General Sharpe, the New York member of the committee, said that he was instructed to make a minority report, and that the committee had voted to withhold the majority report until after the contested seats were disposed of, Conkling's grim smile told how he enjoyed Frye's discomfiture. But they foolishly appealed to General Garfield, chairman of the committee, and Garfield was compelled, but with evident reluctance, to sustain the statements made by General Sharpe. Frye was now completely unhorsed, and had to withdraw his own motion, and followed it with a motion to adjourn until five o'clock.

"This brought Conkling to his feet to enjoy his victory, and, in one of his grandest flights of irony, he congratulated the Maine man on having kept ten thousand people in uncomfortable seats for two hours to ac-

accomplish just what he proposed to accomplish when the convention met. All of Conkling's bitterness was thrown into his effort to portray the littleness of Blaine's leaders, and he sat down amidst thunders of applause. The vast audience had seen the first blood drawn by the gladiator and they wanted more. They called for Frye and Hale until Frye mounted his chair for a farewell broadside at his dreaded antagonist, and he got it in neatly and stopped at the right point. With a good imitation of Conkling's patronizing manner, he returned the thanks of the Maine delegation to the gentleman from New York for his congratulations, and he added that he hoped when the work of the convention shall have been concluded, Mr. Conkling would send his congratulations to the gentleman from Maine. It was a fair hit, and even Conkling joined the audience in its shouts of laughter. The convention then adjourned.

"When it reassembled at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, it was announced that the committee on contested seats would not be ready to report until late in the evening. This fretted the Blaine leaders, who have held the Grant men as the under-dogs all day, and had the galleries fully impressed with the belief that Blaine would be nominated as soon as a vote could be reached. They felt that they had blundered by delay, and they plunged in to multiply their blunders, in the vain hope that they could recover their lost opportunity. Henderson, of Iowa, opened the Blaine fire by renewing Frye's motion of the morning session to instruct the committee on rules to report. The sable gentleman in that Blaine wood-pile is hidden in the rule known to have been adopted by the

committee limiting debate to five-minute speeches, and if that rule could be established before the report of the committee on credentials, it would cut off the expected long debate on the disputed seats. It was a desperate and awkward struggle of the Blaine men to regain the golden hours they had thrown away, but it provoked a running debate in which they suffered greatly. Logan and Boutwell made earnest protests, but Gen. Harrison, who has a wistful eye on the Vice-Presidency, crushed out the petty strategy of Henderson by a manly and eloquent appeal for fair play and free debate. General Sharpe followed and put the Blaine men in the attitude of seeking to violate the plighted faith of the entire committee, by which it was agreed that their report should not be made until the contested seats were settled, and thus avoid the arbitrary limitation of debate on the great preliminary battle. General Garfield, chairman of the committee on rules, sustained General Sharpe as to the action of the committee, but invited the convention to instruct him to report. General Sharpe followed by a shrewd exhibition of strategy in the shape of an amendment requiring the committee on contested seats to report at once.

“This brought the opposing forces face to face. When he demanded a vote by call of the States it forced the first test of the strength of the Grant and combined opposition factions, and the most intense excitement and repeated outbreaks of applause attended the roll-call. The unit-rule question was speedily settled when the first State was called. The chairman of the Alabama delegation reported the vote as 20 for the

Sharpe amendment, but when a colored delegate protested and said that he wished his vote recorded in the negative, President Hoar answered: 'The vote will be so recorded,' and the unit rule disappeared amidst vociferous cheers. The vote for Sharpe's amendment was a clean Grant vote, outside of Vermont, whose delegation erected a very legible finger-board to lead the Grant men to Edmunds as the dark horse by voting solid with the Grant men. It made a visible flutter throughout the convention, and sent a chill to many of the ardent Blaine men. It proved that Cameron, Conkling, and Edmunds understood each other, and that Edmunds is the heir apparent of the Grant dynasty. Pennsylvania voted 31 to 23, showing that Blaine has made no progress in his native State to-day, with all the apparent tide in his favor and the ebb of the Grant cause; and when Conkling reported exactly the same number of Blaine men in New York, the stubborn staying qualities of the defeated Grant men greatly sobered the leaders, who believed the nomination of Blaine to be assured by the general disintegration of the third-termers. The vote footed up 318 for Sharpe's amendment, and 406 against it, exhibiting 308 positive Grant votes, leaving out Vermont, and but 88 majority for the combined Blaine, Sherman, Washburne, and Windom opposition. When the vote was analyzed it became apparent that the actual Blaine vote was fifty less than the vote for Grant, and that of the opposition vote about forty from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and elsewhere were cast by Edmunds men. Brandagee, of Connecticut, followed the vote by a motion to lay the Henderson original motion

on the table, and the Blaine men were again signally defeated in their ill-advised strategy by the success of Brandagee's movement, and an adjournment until ten o'clock to-morrow was then speedily carried."

The third day's session opened at ten o'clock on the morning of the 4th of June. "Conkling struck out boldly when time was called in the morning, and he disconcerted Hale by his resolution declaring that all delegates should be bound to give a cordial support to the nominee of the convention. It was a resolution that Hale could not oppose, and yet he knew that all understood it as a public notice from the imperious Grant leader, that if Grant was beaten Blaine would share discomfiture with him. Conkling did it with the grandest dramatic effect, and it gave inspiration to the Grant followers, while it chilled the whole Blaine army and exposed the weak point of the allies. The resolution prevailed without opposition, but Conkling demanded a call of the States and made the most out of his early spanking of Hale. Three West Virginia Sherman men voted against the resolution, and Conkling at once swung the party lash to stripe them before the multitude, but after a rambling debate of an issue he withdrew his whip and let the dissenters pursue their go-as-you-please plan.

"Finally the committee on credentials reported, and the changes made in the Pennsylvania cases were the strongest evidence of the loss of vim and leadership in the Blaine men. They had reconsidered the Lancaster case and lost two votes, and the Pollock-Campion and the Brown-Buch cases had been allowed to remain as

the Grant men had fixed them. Night before last the Blaine committee started out to decide all doubtful cases, if not all cases, in their own favor, and the Grant men ruefully prepared for such a fate; but a day was lost to Blaine when the tide was at its flood, and the tide ebbed before Blaine has come to victory, as could have been done by anything like skilful management. A general relaxation and shuffling off followed, and even the Blaine credentials committee gave Grant four votes in Pennsylvania which they could have retained on plausible grounds in two cases, and in obedience to the mandate of the Lancaster Republicans in the other two cases. It is not surprising, therefore, that the proceedings of to-day exhibited only a succession of irritating skirmish attacks from the Grant managers and little or no manly resistance from the Blaine side.

“After Conkling had played with the Blaine men until he wearied of it Logan scored a brilliant triumph over the credentials committee on an appeal to the convention. A protest had been sent to the committee by some Illinois outsiders, alleging that the Springfield convention was not a regular body, and that there were no properly elected delegates-at-large from the State. The committee received the protest, unanimously decided against it, and reported that the Logan delegates were entitled to their seats. Logan resented the mere reference to his right to his place by the committee as a wanton imputation upon it when he had no contestant, and General Sharpe followed with a motion to expunge all reference to the delegates-at-large from the report. The Blaine leaders fought shy of the issue. Hale and

Frye were silent, but their delegation did a good share of applause when opportunity for it offered. The allies were distrustful of their power, and they did not venture to get into line of battle. The result was that Logan bore off his laurels in triumph.

"Altogether the session was a succession of defiant advances against the Blaine outposts, and when adjournment was reached the Grant men were victors in all the skirmishes of the day.

"The evening session brought the factious belligerents face to face on the question of contested seats, and General Harrison voiced the impatience of delegates and auditors by proposing to limit debate to forty minutes in each case. With little preliminary sparring the convention got down to work, taking up the Alabama contest. The Grant men were at a disadvantage that they well appreciated, as they were compelled to break their line or array themselves against the popular principle of direct representation of the people through the district, but they proved their perfect discipline by standing up squarely to the rack and accepting the issue. They knew that they must lose some, as one of the Grant delegates from Alabama made an earnest appeal in favor of the rights of districts, and Vermont could not be held on such a test. The debate was weak on the minority side, as Conkling, Logan, and the Grant dictators left the hopeless battle to their Southern friends, while Conger, Bateman, and other Blaine and Sherman orators, defended their cause on the floor. Three broke in Alabama, six of the Vermont men joined the allies, and there were straggling losses in Georgia, Texas, and North Carolina; but the

Grant column stood up 306 strong on the severest test that could be imposed, while the allies polled 449. By this decision the Grant men lose two votes in Alabama, and they will next lose eighteen in Illinois and gain four in Kansas. When the contested seats shall all have been settled the nett loss to Grant will be eighteen, which will leave the Grant men an available vote of nearly three hundred that can be handled as a solid body. It will be solid for Grant, or for the man who may take the place of Grant all the time.

"The Illinois case followed also, and it was the signal for the giants to come to the front. Logan opened the fight, with his usual pluck, against the motion to limit debate to an hour. He blundered outside of the record, and made a telling Grant speech, calling out the strongest eruption of enthusiasm for the 'old soldier' that had yet been exhibited. He would have made a strong hit, but he unfortunately called out Haymond, of California, to answer a question, and the Golden Star orator delivered a broadside for Blaine that enabled the Blaine galleries to outdo the Grant applause immensely. It was kept up for five minutes, all the Blaine delegates and a large majority of the galleries rising and joining in the successive thunders of applause. Logan faced it gracefully like a man, but his speech was love's labor lost. He gained his point, however, by gaining two hours for the description of the Illinois case, besides his own speech of a full half hour.

"The debate on the Illinois factions was opened by Conger, chairman of the credentials committee, in defence of the report and in favor of unseating eighteen Grant

delegates. His speech was much the same as a half-dozen others he had delivered during the day, and the vast audience sympathized with the convention in its weariness of that speech of Conger's. Raum, one of the sitting delegates, followed and threw much life into the dry details he gave of Republican precedents, but Anthony, a contestant, answered with equal ability, and he moulded Republican history in just the opposite way. Storrs followed in defence of the Grant delegates, and made some strong points, but he spoke with that heaviness that is common when a man faces palpable and inevitable defeat until he accidentally struck the Blaine chord, by saying in a conciliatory tone, 'Nominate James G. Blaine, if you will,' when the Blaine galleries broke out in a tempest of applause that was kept up for several minutes. He waited patiently until order was restored, when he countered with a beautiful tribute to the old soldier, and the Grant men simultaneously rose and stormed the convention with deafening applause for fully fifteen minutes. 'Long John' Wentworth threw up his hat, Conkling and Tom Murphy answered from New York, and the excitement was soon brought to such a pitch that hats, handkerchiefs, and umbrellas were sent flying in the air. Some of the colored delegates jerked off their coats and whirled them around in the most frantic manner. In noise, earnestness, and endurance it threw all previous Blaine demonstrations in the shade, and clearly outlined the unconquerable determination of the Grant followers. When the storm was just beginning to calm a little, the Alabama delegation struck up the song of 'Marching through Georgia,' and the galleries

took up the refrain. Hoar looked on complacently and waited patiently for the volcano to quiet itself, but just when things seemed likely to settle the Blaine men started in fresh, and as they had two-thirds of the galleries they shouted and cheered louder than their opponents, and kept it up quite as long. The ten thousand people present, who had been weary or worn out by tedious debate, were easily fired by one side or the other. A perfect pandemonium followed, and it was a full hour before the yelling ceased from sheer exhaustion. The riotous applause lasted a full hour, each side cheering in turn.

“When the convention finally settled down the President attempted to put the question, but the only response was a fresh confusion of cheers for Blaine and Grant. Raum at last diverted the shouters by proposing three cheers for the nominee of the convention, which were given with a will. Storrs then attempted to proceed, but he incidentally named Sherman, and the Sherman men took a brief tilt at applause, but it was feeble and soon wore itself out. He then finished his speech at a quarter to one.

“Pixley, of California, followed with a brief speech that somewhat sobered the convention. He characterized the demonstrations as worthy only of France and the Commune. Butterworth moved to adjourn until ten o'clock and demanded a call of the roll. It was finished at 1.10 A. M., and the adjournment was defeated by the overwhelming vote of 653 to 103.

“The vote was then about to be taken on the Illinois contest, when Clayton of Arkansas, moved to substitute

the minority report relating to the First Congressional district, and a call of the roll was ordered, resulting in the defeat of the amendment by 387 to 353. Many of the delegations had one or more absentees, worn out by the protracted session and exhausting cheering, and Kansas declined to vote. As the Blaine sauce for Illinois throws out four Blaine men in that State, the result was received with vociferous applause from the Grant men, as it nearly annihilated the allied majority. Sixteen in Ohio broke, which is regarded as the Grant strength there as against Blaine. The question then recurred on the original report, seating the contesting anti-Grant delegates from the first district of Illinois, and Logan demanded the call of the roll. It was concluded at 1.45 A. M., and the majority report was adopted by 384 to 356. Pennsylvania voted 34 on the Logan side and 24 against it. Logan then called a division of the question on the eight districts, but the variance was not material from the test vote in the first district. The eighteen anti-Grant men were certain of being seated, and as they were admitted they swelled the sadly cut down allied majority. A motion to adjourn to eleven o'clock on Saturday was carried at half-past two.

“President Hoar did not call the convention to order on the morning of the fourth day, June 5th, until a quarter before twelve o'clock. The Kansas contest was the first business and it was an embarrassing issue to both sides. The Blaine-Sherman men were compelled to vote out four of their men and give their seats to Grant men to justify their action in the Illinois case, and the Grant men had to vote against the admission of their own

friends to maintain their consistency. The Blaine-Sherman men preserved their intention and voted out their own men, but some of the fierce Grant men stood obstinately to their guns and voted against the addition of four to their number. Logan rose and, in dramatic style, cast the votes of his Illinois followers against his friends. The overwhelming vote of 476 to 184 showed, however, that separate district representation is henceforth to be the accepted law of the party. The next question brought about a sudden change of partners in the national waltz. Two Sherman men contested the seats of the Blaine delegates from West Virginia, and the Sherman men were thrown into an alliance with Grant as if by magic. The cut came from Massachusetts, and the Blaine leaders saw that an unexpected and serious danger threatened them. They threw out their flanks to stay the union between the Sherman and Grant forces, but it was Grouchy after Blucher over again. The Sherman men filed in with the Grant army, and Blaine was compelled for the first time to face the field alone, as Grant had to meet it in several previous conflicts. An active rally was made along the Blaine lines, but the vote of every divided delegation proved that many who were bitterly against Grant were as bitterly against Blaine, and the ballot footed up 417 for the new Grant-Sherman combination and 312 against.

“This was the first show of the positive Blaine strength, and it presented a majority of 84 against him, but it also showed that Blaine had more positive strength than Grant in the convention. The next test vote was yet a more severe trial for Blaine. The Utah contest

was between the Grant contestants and the Blaine sitting members, and, to the surprise of the Blaine leaders, Massachusetts again gave the hint to the convention that the field would again combine against Blaine. The issue seemed to be extremely perilous to Blaine, but they had no way to escape. They had no chance for retreat and none for victory, and they had to stand up as bravely as possible and receive the shock. The prestige of the West Virginia vote was with the field, against Blaine, and it had its effect, as was shown by the increased anti-Blaine vote. The Grant-Sherman combination increased its vote for the admission of the square Grant delegates to the seats of two square Blaine delegates from 417 on the West Virginia to 426 on the Utah nine, and the Blaine vote was reduced from 330 to 312. These votes indicated a rapid crystallization of the field against Blaine, and the Blaine leaders would have floundered indefinitely had not the Grant leaders reinspired them by forcing their battle too fast and too far. When General Garfield moved the adoption of the report on rules, General Sharpe, one of the staunchest and ablest of the Grant managers, threw the Blaine men into consternation by moving to proceed at once to the general nomination of candidates for President. Sharpe made his motion deliberately, and he evidently had a two-fold purpose in offering it. He hoped that the new Sherman allies would stand by the Grant men in forcing the fight and thus demoralize the Blaine lines, or, failing in that, he desired to demonstrate the exact strength of Grant against both Blaine and Sherman and the necessity of uniting on a candidate against Blaine.

“General Garfield at once met General Sharpe with an order for his allies to fall back into the Blaine camp again, and that gave notice that the scenes were suddenly shifted and that the Blaine-Sherman combination would at once resume business. When a roll-call was demanded there was a general bustle among the delegations, and all stragglers were hastily summoned into line. The result proved that Grant had 276 votes against the field and that the field had 479 against Grant. The result was received with a storm of applause from the well-crowded Blaine galleries, and the Blaine leaders were again restored to the command of the convention by the bold movement of General Sharpe. It was not a distinct Blaine victory; but it was a decisive Grant defeat, and it was accepted as a formal judgment that Grant was outside the pale of success. The Blaine men were timid notwithstanding their substantial recovery from the disaster suffered in the West Virginia and Utah cases, and they feared to press the struggle. Both sides considered Pierrepont's platform leisurely, as if each was afraid to precipitate the great battle, and when the tedious resolutions had jogged through a sluggish debate on civil service reform, with nobody exhibiting any disposition to hasten results, the Blaine men were afraid to go on and afraid to move to adjourn. Ex-Postmaster General Creswell came to the relief of both sides at 4.50 P. M., by a motion to adjourn until seven o'clock. All the preliminary work was out of the way, and the convention had to face a direct struggle on the nomination or adjourn. A few feeble noes were given on the question, but nobody demanded a roll-call, and the three jarring elements of the conven-

tion rushed out to see which could best plot and counter-plot to destroy the others.

“The probability that the final struggle was at hand attracted an eager crowd to the evening session. The galleries were jammed before the hour of meeting, and every place that would allow of a man to be crowded into it was occupied before President Hoar’s gavel fell. The scene was the most brilliant of all the many brilliant exhibitions given in the great hall during the last four days. There were no laggards among the delegates and the commanders were at their posts on sharp time. The ladies largely increased their numbers among the spectators, and on every side the most intense interest was manifested. The Blaine men were hopeful, but they did not conceal their apprehensions that their bitter battle against Grant might recoil upon them fearfully to-night. It has been clear since early in the day that the contest would be between Blaine and the field, and in every preliminary trial the field had won, but the Blaine men feel confident that they can command a clear majority against any one man. Such were the hopes and expectations of the Blaine leaders when seven o’clock summoned them to the final grapple with their foes. The Grant men came into action with little or no hope of success for their favorite, but they have taken their last stand to make Blaine share their defeat. Both the Sherman and Grant managers feel that delay will be in their favor. They do not want to betray their position by forcing an adjournment over till Monday, but their policy will be to protract the ballots and wear out the night session. Such was the attitude of the belligerents when the convention opened this evening.

"Hale, the chief Blaine leader, took the floor as soon as the convention was ready for business, and there was a sudden hush, followed by applause as soon as he was recognized. It was regarded as the signal for a determined advance of the Blaine men, but the disappointment was general among his followers when he made what was, under the circumstances, a dilatory motion. With two hours certain to be occupied in speeches presenting candidates, not more than two hours would remain for balloting, as the advent of Sunday will adjourn the body at twelve. It was accepted by all sides as indicating hesitation on the part of the Blaine chieftains. When the name of Cameron was reported as the unanimous choice of Pennsylvania for the national committee, he received his first hearty cheers from the galleries.

"Both Illinois and Maine made no response when called to nominate a candidate for President, but when Michigan was called, Mr. Joy at once rose and nominated Blaine.

"After some desultory sparring over the national committee had been lazily disposed of there was nothing left but to go to Presidential nominations, and Hale was compelled to lead off because the others would not and could afford to wait. He finally rose and moved the call of the States for general nominations for President. When Illinois was called, being the first State in alphabetical order that has candidates, there was no response, and like silence followed the call of Maine, but when Michigan was called, Mr. Joy rose to nominate Blaine. It was one of the many blunders of the Blaine leaders, as his speech was dry, uninspiring, and never elicited a cheer,

except twice when he named Blaine. Long-continued cheers followed, and at one time a repetition of the last night yelling blockade was apprehended. Colonel Pixley, of California, seconded the nomination. He improved on Joy, but fell far short of the expectations of the Blaine people. Indeed, so indifferently had Blaine been advocated, that Frye, had to come forward and ask to be heard by a suspension of the rules. It was granted, of course, and he gave the Blaine men a taste of what they wanted. His five-minute speech was grand, bold, and eloquent, and Blaine was redeemed. When Minnesota was called, Mr. Drake, of Minnesota, came forward and named Windom, but it was a failure. He did not fill his ten minutes, and the audience gave him a few parting cheers.

"New York was soon called, and Conkling rose and quickly stepped upon the platform. It was the signal for thunders of applause. With difficulty silence was finally restored, and the vast gathering suddenly hushed into perfect stillness. Conscious that his cause was a hopeless one, he spoke with all the inspiration of one who was about to gather the garland of victory. He was sublimely eloquent. His polished blows at Blaine were as terrible as they were elegant, and his epigrammatic tributes to Grant exhausted the power of language. Nearly every sentence was interrupted by an ovation. When he said that Grant had no appliances and no telegraph running from his house to this convention the Blaine galleries sent up a flood of hisses and jeers and calls for 'time,' as he had exceeded his ten minutes. For some time the galleries would not allow him to be heard, but he stood calmly, with folded arms, until the

opposition exhausted itself. Then he said, as only Conkling could say it, 'Go on, if you will; it doesn't come out of my time.' It then occurred to the Blaine followers, even in the galleries, that the night was passing, and that they were themselves aiding to postpone a nomination until Monday. He was then allowed to finish, and he retired amid a tempest of cheers. The speech was equal to Ingersoll's speech for Blaine in 1876 in eloquence and power.

"It was fully twenty minutes after Conkling left the platform before order could be restored. The Grant men in convention and galleries took a regular jubilee, and President Hoar had to sit down and let disorder tire itself out. The Grant delegation 'pooled' the flags which mark their States, marched around the aisles, cheering and yelling as if bedlam had broken loose. Finally, Bradley, of Kentucky, was allowed to speak, seconding the nomination of Grant; but it was tame after Conkling.

"Garfield next rose and the audience started a new storm of applause. As soon as he could be heard he nominated Sherman and delivered an eloquent and impressive appeal for his candidate, but neither galleries nor convention had half as much applause for Sherman as they had for Garfield himself."

The following is the full text of General Garfield's speech:

"Mr. President: I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this convention with deep solicitude. No emotion touches my heart more quickly than a sentiment in honor of a great and noble character. But

as I sat on these seats and witnessed these demonstrations, it seemed to me you were a human ocean in a tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into a spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man. But I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when sunshine bathes its smooth surface, then the astronomer and surveyor takes the level from which he measures all terrestrial heights and depths. Gentlemen of the convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of the people.

“When our enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find the calm level of public opinion, below the storm, from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which their final action will be determined. Not here, in this brilliant circle, where 15,000 men and women are assembled, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed; not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of 756 delegates waiting to cast their votes into the urn and determine the choice of their party; but by 5,000,000 Republican firesides, where the thoughtful fathers, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and love of country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and the knowledge of the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by,—there God prepares the verdict that shall determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat

of June, but in the sober quiet that comes between now and November, in the silence of deliberate judgment, will this great question be settled. Let us aid them to-night.

“But now, gentlemen of the convention, what do we want? Bear with me a moment. Hear me for this cause, and, for a moment, be silent that you may hear. Twenty-five years ago this Republic was wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with the traffic in the body and souls of men had paralyzed the consciences of a majority of our people. The baleful doctrine of State sovereignty had shocked and weakened the noblest and most beneficent powers of the national government, and the grasping power of slavery was seizing the virgin Territories of the West and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage. At that crisis the Republican party was born. It drew its first inspiration from the fire of liberty which God has lighted in every man’s heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and save the Republic. It entered the arena when the beleaguered and assailed Territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free forever.

“Strengthened by its victory on the frontier, the young party, under the leadership of that great man, who on this spot, twenty years ago, was made its leader, entered the national capital and assumed the high duties of the Government. The light which shone from its

banner dispelled the darkness in which slavery had enshrouded the Capitol and melted the shackles of every slave, and consumed, in the fire of liberty, every slave-pen within the shadow of the Capitol. Our national industries, by an impoverishing policy, were themselves prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the treasury itself was well nigh empty. The money of the people was the wretched notes of 2,000 uncontrolled and irresponsible State bank corporations, which were filling the country with a circulation that poisoned rather than sustained the life of business.

"The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the babel of confusion and gave the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people. It threw its protecting arm around our great industries, and they stood erect as with new life. It filled with the spirit of true nationality all the great functions of the Government. It confronted a rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with a slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of liberty until victory was won. Then, after the storms of battle, were heard the sweet, calm words of peace uttered by the conquering nation, and saying to the conquered foe that lay prostrate at its feet, 'This is our only revenge, that you join us in lifting to the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine like stars forever and forever, the immortal principles of truth and justice, that all men, white or black, shall be free and stand equal before the law.' Then came the questions of reconstruction, the public debt, and the public faith.

“In the settlement of these questions the Republican party has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence, and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of duty and of victory. How shall we do this great work? We cannot do it, my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that I should say one word to cast a shadow upon any name on the roll of our heroes. This coming fight is our Thermopylæ. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us.

“Let us hold our ground this one year, for the stars in their courses fight for us in the future. The census to be taken this year will bring re-enforcements and continued power. But, in order to win this victory now, we want the vote of every Republican, of every Grant Republican in America, of every Blaine man and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed to make our success certain; therefore I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to calmly counsel together, and inquire what we shall do. [A voice ‘Nominate Garfield.’—Great applause.]

“We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, sees all the achievements of our past history, and carries in his heart the memory of all its glorious deeds, and who, looking forward, prepares to meet the labor and the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness toward those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive

branch of peace, and wishes them to return to brotherhood, on this supreme condition, that it shall be admitted, forever and for evermore, that, in the war for the Union, we were right and they were wrong. [Cheers.] On that supreme condition we meet them as brethren, and no other. We ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this great Republic.

“Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration—the name of a man who was the comrade, and associate, and friend of nearly all those noble dead whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night [cheers]; a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago, whose first duty was courageously done in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when the first red drops of that bloody shower began to fall which finally swelled into the deluge of war. He bravely stood by young Kansas then, and, returning to his duty in the national legislature, through all subsequent time his pathway has been marked by labors performed in every department of legislation.

“You ask for his monuments. I point you to twenty-five years of the national statutes. Not one great beneficent statute has been placed on our statute books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided these men to formulate the laws that raised our great armies and carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back the unity and married calm of the States. His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in a greater work that redeemed the prom-

ises of the Government, and made the currency equal to gold. And when, at last, called from the halls of legislation into a high executive office, he displayed that experience, intelligence, firmness, and poise of character which has carried us through a stormy period of three years. With one half the public press crying 'Crucify him!' and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent success—in all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him.

“The great fiscal affairs of the nation and the great business interests of the country he has guarded and preserved, while executing the law of resumption, and effecting its object, without a jar, and against the false prophecies of one half of the press and all the Democracy of this continent. He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the Government for twenty-five years. He has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of “that fierce light that beats against the throne,” but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no stain on his shield.

“I do not present him as a better Republican, or as a better man than thousands of others we honor, but I present him for your deliberate consideration. I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio.”

“Elliot, the colored orator of South Carolina, varied the monotony of the generally indifferent speeches nominating candidates by an eloquent and well-delivered appeal for Sherman, and ex-Governor Smith, of Vermont, then started the Edmunds, boom, which was seconded by Sandford, of Massachusetts. The convention and the

galleries were both wearied of the oratory and fireworks, and repeated manifestations of impatience were given. As soon as it became probable that a ballot must go over till Monday, the interest of the vast audience visibly flagged, and empty seats became visible as crowds rushed to escape the heat of the hall. At 11.30, Cassidy, of Wisconsin, rose to nominate Washburne, but Conkling, Frye, and Garfield had made all ordinary speeches stale and unprofitable, and neither Cassidy nor his theme inspired enthusiasm.

“Brandagee, of Connecticut, infused fresh spirit into the jaded audience by a sprightly, eloquent seconding of Washburne. He closed at 11.50 P. M., leaving Sunday but ten minutes off. The nominations were then finished, and a motion to adjourn until ten o'clock on Monday was carried just as the midnight hour was struck.”

When the doors of the convention were opened on the morning of Monday, June 7th, “hurried streams of humanity poured in at every entrance, and when the hour arrived for President Hoar to swing his gavel, all the portions of the hall within possible hearing of the proceedings were jammed to the uttermost. Even the reserved platform of the correspondents was invaded by the crowd until communication with the hundred batteries which maintained their ceaseless clicking hard by was almost entirely interrupted. The ladies gave their wealth of smiles upon the conflict of the political giants in greater profusion than at any previous session, and the distinguished guests were wedged in upon each other as if they were no more than common flesh and blood.

“Hoar came in ahead of time and looked serene as a

summer morning that welcomed him to his task, and his face was fresh as the roses which shed their exquisite tints and fragrance on his table. He has borne himself so well, so impartially, and so intelligently, that all felt assured of a faithful umpire in the desperation of the last charge of the contending hosts. Alabama, as usual, was first to present a full delegation, and Arkansas, just behind her, speedily followed. The colored troops were generally among the first to the front, and they evidently meant to fight nobly. Conkling was mindful of the potency of dramatic strategy, and knew that he would meet his grandest welcome as he passed before his allies to lead them in the hand-to-hand struggle. He waited until just before the time for calling to order, and then strode into the hall with that magnificent bearing that none of his rivals can imitate. As soon as his tall form and silvered crown were visible, the shout went up that all understood, and it was heartier and longer than before. He walked down the aisle with the utmost exposure, and gracefully bowed his recognition of the homage tendered him. Garfield is the member of the convention who divides with Conkling the popular welcome at every opening. He has evidently studied the graces for such occasions less, and therefore appears to have studied them more; while Conkling is either so complete in his culture or so gifted in the perfection of manner, that he seems to be a born leader and grandly conscious of it. Conkling's dress has the appearance of the most elegant negligence, while Garfield comes with his carefully adjusted tie and collar, closely buttoned frock-coat and displaying a genteel mixture of mirror poses and Western go-as-you-please.

"He received a royal welcome when he entered, and his strong, rugged features lightened like the rippled lake with its dancing sunshine. Cameron was active, silent and determined as ever. He flitted hurriedly among the distinguished guests, before the signal gun was fired, and then retired to his immediate command. Hale and Frye were among the first to take their position, and hope and fear were plainly wrestling with each other on their faces. Hale was pale with anxiety, and the usually flushed features of Frye were redder than are their wont. Both seemed well poised and reasonably self-reliant, but the contrast between their nervous apprehensions and the calm defiance of Conkling was a study for the intelligent observers of men. Chandler was restless, and his little face seemed to have shrunk away behind his eye-glasses.

"Logan was calm as the dark cloud that is just waiting to hurl its thunderbolt. He sat as still as a statue, his swarthy features appearing darker than usual, and his fierce black eyes now and then darting out their most defiant flashes. He seemed conscious that his leader was beaten, but he was evidently resolved that there should be a costly retreat for the pursuing hosts. Garfield, Foster, Dennison, Bateman, Butterfield, and other Ohio leaders, were to be seen in little knots of their delegation, as if they feared defection at an early stage of the contest, and there was evident unrest among the Indiana men. General Harrison's short form and sharply-cut features were shaded with anxiety. He feared Grant, and now that Grant seemed to be beaten, he was impressed with the possibility of the grandson of a Presi-

dent being the choice of exhausted factions. General Sewell sat in front of Conkling, and his youthful face exhibited the coolness and determination which characterized him in the heat of battle. As far as faces could be distinguished in the great arena, all seemed to be soberly anxious for the order to advance.

“When President Hoar called the convention to order there was a speedy hush, and the vast multitude was seated with wonderful alacrity. All seemed anxious for the fight to begin. The minister who opened with prayer shared the general appreciation of the value of the fleeting moments, and his petition had the merit of brevity. President Hoar at once called the combatants to the arena, and gave notice that there should be no delay, no debate, no tricks by changing votes after once cast; and he faithfully enforced the rules. Hale came promptly to the front by moving to proceed to a ballot. His manner was courageous, and the Blaine men sent up a cheer to encourage him. Conkling followed, and seconded the motion with an air that plainly told his followers he was ready for the fray, and the Grant galleries welcomed him with a storm of applause. The roll-call was at once begun amidst most intense anxiety, many of the leaders exhibiting painful suspense.

“Alabama opened for Grant by giving him nearly a solid vote, and Arkansas followed with an entirely solid vote for him. There was faint applause, but all sides joined in hissing it down. Next came California with a united vote for Blaine, which was announced by Pixley in a dramatic way and with a clap-trap sentence for the galleries, but the president rose and notified the chairmen

of delegations that no comment of any kind would be allowed. The ballot then ran along in a regulation way until Connecticut was called, when there was breathless silence to hear the response, and when it gave Blaine but three and Grant none, there was a double disappointment. The next State that excited special attention was New York, and when Conkling rose to announce the vote, every one strained forward to catch his words. In a distinct voice he slowly responded: 'Two votes are reported for Sherman, seventeen for Blaine, and fifty-one are for Grant.' His emphasis upon the words, 'are for Grant,' was an exhibition of Conkling's own method of impressing himself upon those around him, and but for the common desire to prefer a vote to a hurrah there would have been a storm of cheers. Ohio threw a wet blanket on the Sherman men by casting nine votes for Blaine on the first ballot, and it brightened the faces of a vast majority of the spectators. Pennsylvania was another of the States that silenced the audience when called, as she was about to declare how Cameron had held the Grant lines there against the impetuous dashes made by the Blaine men. There was evident gratification among the Grant followers and equal disappointment among the Blaine men when General Beaver's clear, strong voice thundered out so that all could hear it: 'Pennsylvania votes thirty-two for Grant, twenty-three for Blaine, and three for Sherman.' There was little variation from the generally understood attitudes of the States called after Pennsylvania, and the ballot closed in the most orderly manner.

"When the secretary announced that Grant had

reached 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; Edmunds, 34; Washburne, 30, and Windom 10, there was a spontaneous shout from the Grant ranks, and the Blaine leaders and followers were grievously mortified. Hale and Frye could not conceal their apprehensions that they had miscalculated their strength, and that the defeat of their plumed knight was more than probable. They had confidently counted on from 305 to 315 for Blaine on the first ballot, and they conceded only 275 to Grant. But the battle was upon them; there was no time allowed to rally or gather up stragglers, and they had to push the fight as best they could with the prestige, on which many hesitating votes depended, clearly against them. The Grant galleries seemed to take in the situation, and to understand that rapid voting rather than boisterous cheering was their policy. The moment the vote was announced by President Hoar he ordered another ballot, holding that nothing was in order but to vote; and before the leaders could take a look at their lines they were in action again by the prompt roll-call. The Blaine men noted the second ballot with painful interest, as they hoped to receive a large accession to their candidate, and when the result showed that Grant had gained one and that Blaine had lost two there was a visible chill throughout the Blaine ranks. The third ballot was precipitated upon the convention immediately after the second had been announced, and the Blaine men hoped that Ohio or Pennsylvania would signal the doubtful vote to come to the popular leader; but Ohio exhibited no variation, even with Sherman's own delegation divided, and Pennsylvania announced a gain to Grant at the cost of Blaine.

"It was on this ballot that Caleb N. Taylor, of Bucks, started the Harrison boom solitary and alone, but during all the subsequent votes there was no response to it from Indiana. The announcement of 305 for Grant and 282 for Blaine settled all sides down to a wearing contest, and it so continued until sixteen ballots had been cast, without any material change in the lines. So closely was the voting watched that every change of a single vote was understood at once, and the gain or loss of two or three votes by either Grant or Blaine was the signal for applause when the ballot was closed. During the sixteen ballots Grant carried only from 303 to 309 and Blaine from 280 to 285. The only episode that interfered to relieve the monotony of the sameness of voting was when Conkling lost a vote in his delegation. He did not dispute the correctness of the vote returned to him as chairman, but he evidently meant that deserters must uncover themselves. He demanded a call of the roll in open convention, which required each individual delegate to rise and answer for himself, and Senator McCarthy proved to be the missing Grant man who had taken refuge in the Blaine camp. He was vociferously cheered by the galleries when he cast his vote, but Conkling looked on complacently and felt assured that he had stopped further straggling. After the sixth ballot General Harrison rose and moved a recess until 5 P. M., but it was howled down before the question could be put. Later on Drake tried to stop what seemed to be a tedious farce by renewing the motion to adjourn, but he fared no better than Harrison. After eighteen ballots, and when more than five hours had been consumed in casting and counting 755 votes,

almost without variation, Mr. Buchanan, the Sherman chairman of the Mississippi delegation, moved a recess until seven o'clock, and it was carried without serious opposition. Both the Grant and Blaine leaders are seeking alliances with Sherman, and when a Sherman manager proposed a truce, the chief opposing forces were unwilling to antagonize him. An adjournment was then hurriedly carried and the weary crowd filed out to dinner.

The brief recess was actively employed by leaders of all sides to get possession of the incalculable quantity from the South that followed Sherman. It is known to be made up largely of Swiss guards, and so both leading lines feared that the other might capture them. Both have tried most exclusively to get them into camp, and the air is full of stories not at all creditable to the integrity of either bidders or the doubtful delegates.

“When the hour for the evening session drew near there was no reliable understanding between the Sherman wing and either of the chief belligerents, and both Hale and Conkling had to renew the battle and take the chances of the many accidents which may drift the floating vote to its final destination. As soon as the doors were open the crowd rushed in more impetuously than ever before, and for the first time the mob mastered the excellent police force that has so admirably handled the seething mass of humanity that has crowded in and about the Exposition Building. Those admitted to the distant portions of the hall finally made a dash over the feeble partitions and at once filled all the vacant seats nearest the platform. Once in possession it could not be removed, and those who were too late had to take seats

which present a view of the convention only in the dim distance. Conkling and Garfield came in late, as usual, and received the regulation cheers, much to the amusement of the audience generally, and Hale and Frye were early in their places, still hopeful but evidently not confident of victory.

“President Hoar promptly ordered the nineteenth ballot, and the greatest anxiety was manifested as the States with floating delegates were called. It was expected that the recess would result in some combination in favor of Blaine or Grant, but the ballot failed to reveal any material change, and when the next presented about the same result it became apparent that the battle was to be a protracted one. The ballots were hurried along without anything whatever to relieve the tedious sameness of calling the roll and listening to announcements, which would average just about even all around in any ten ballots. Grant started at his old 305, but Blaine fell down to 279, and on next trial Grant forged ahead to 308, leaving Blaine at 276. Grant then dropped gradually until he got down to 303 and Blaine took a spurt that put him up to 281, but it was evident that the ups and downs between them meant nothing more than stray shots from wandering pickets. The crowded audience was restless. The Grant and Blaine men cheered alternately, as ballots were announced showing slight gains for their favorites. After the twenty-seventh ballot, at 9.50 p. m., Morse, of Massachusetts, anti-Grant, moved to adjourn till ten to-morrow. The *viva voce* was nearly equal, and the chair declared that the ayes appeared to have it; but Conkling bounced to his feet to demand a call of the

roll, which Hale promptly seconded. The motion was then withdrawn, and the session began again.

"The twenty-eighth ballot gave Grant 307, within one of his highest vote, and Blaine 279, being below his average. Mr. Morse, another Massachusetts Edmunds man, then renewed the motion to adjourn, and the chair was about to declare it carried when Conkling rose hastily and demanded a roll-call, which was promptly seconded by the Grant men of Kentucky. The Blaine men were sick of the unequal contest, and Hale, who had joined Conkling half an hour before to oppose adjournment, in order to exhibit pluck, sat still, and the field was quickly marshalled for a suspension of active hostilities."

The following table shows the result of the day's balloting, the first ballot being given in detail :

STATES.	GRANT.	BLAINE.	SHERMAN.	EDMUNDS.	WINDOM.	WASHBURN.
Alabama	16	1	3	..	..	..
Arkansas	12	..	..	..	..	..
California .....	..	12	..	..	..	..
Colorado	6	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut .....	..	3	..	2	..	7
Delaware .....	..	6	..	..	..	..
Florida	8	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia	6	8	8	..	..	..
Illinois	24	10	..	..	..	8
Indiana	1	26	2	..	..	1
Iowa .....	..	22	..	..	..	..
Kansas	4	6	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	20	1	3	..	..	..
Louisiana	8	2	6	..	..	..
Maine .....	..	14	..	..	..	..
Maryland	7	7	2	..	..	..
Massachusetts	3	..	2	20	..	1
Carried forward.....	115	118	26	22	..	17

STATES.	GRANT.	BLAINE.	SHERMAN.	EDMUNDS.	WINDOM.	WASHBURN.
Brought forward.....	115	118	26	22	..	17
Michigan.....	1	21	..	..	..	..
Minnesota.....	..	..	..	..	10	..
Mississippi.....	6	4	6	..	..	..
Missouri.....	29	..	..	..	..	1
Nebraska.....	..	6	..	..	..	..
Nevada.....	..	6	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire.....	..	10	..	..	..	..
New Jersey.....	..	16	..	..	..	2
New York.....	51	17	2	..	..	..
North Carolina.....	6	..	14	..	..	..
Ohio.....	..	9	34	1	..	..
Oregon.....	..	6	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	32	23	3	..	..	..
Rhode Island.....	..	8	..	..	..	..
South Carolina.....	13	..	1	..	..	..
Tennessee.....	16	6	1	1	..	..
Texas.....	11	2	2	..	..	1
Vermont.....	..	..	..	10	..	..
Virginia.....	18	3	1	..	..	..
West Virginia.....	1	8	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin.....	1	7	3	..	..	9
Arizona.....	..	2	..	..	..	..
Dakota.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
Idaho.....	..	2	..	..	..	..
Montana.....	..	2	..	..	..	..
New Mexico.....	..	2	..	..	..	..
Utah.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
Washington.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
Wyoming.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
Total.....	304	284	93	34	10	30

	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.	8th.	9th.	10th.
Grant.....	305	305	305	305	305	305	306	308	305
Blaine.....	282	282	281	281	281	281	284	282	282
Sherman.....	94	93	95	95	95	94	91	90	92
Edmunds.....	32	32	32	32	31	32	31	31	31
Washburne.....	31	31	30	30	31	31	32	32	32
Windom.....	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Garfield.....	..	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2
Harrison.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

	11th.	12th.	13th.	14th.	15th.	16th.	17th.	18th.	19th
Grant	306	304	305	305	303	306	303	305	305
Blaine	281	283	285	285	281	283	284	283	279
Sherman	92	92	89	89	88	88	90	91	96
Edmunds	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
Washburne	32	33	32	35	36	36	36	35	32
Windom	11	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Garfield	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hartranft .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hayes	1	1	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
McCrary .....	..	..	1	..	....	..	..	..	..
Davis .....	..	..	..	..	....	..	1	..	..
	20th.	21st.	22d.	23d.	24th.	25th.	26th.	27th.	28th
Grant	308	305	305	304	305	302	303	306	307
Blaine	276	276	275	275	279	281	280	277	279
Sherman	93	96	97	97	93	94	93	93	91
Edmunds	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
Washburne	35	35	35	36	35	35	36	36	35
Windom	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Garfield	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Hartranft	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..

The adjournment was carried over Grant's steady 303, and the battle was transferred again to the lobbies of the Chicago hotels.

The convention met again at eleven o'clock on the morning of June 8th. After the opening prayer the call of the States was ordered for the twenty-ninth ballot for President. There was a disturbance at the outset over the vote of Alabama. It was announced by the chairman, George Turner, as it had been cast all day yesterday; but it appeared that Alexander, one of the Grant delegates, was not in the hall, but had asked the chairman to cast his vote. Objection being made the roll of individual delegates was called, and as no alternate appeared, Grant lost one vote. It required a quarter of an hour to settle this dispute, and there was no further epi-

sode until Massachusetts was reached, when the nineteen Edmunds votes of yesterday were turned over to Sherman and created some excitement as being an indication, though slight, that the convention might break. The split in the Minnesota vote following immediately after, and giving Blaine three of the Windom delegates, was the signal for a renewal of the excitement, and considerable applause followed. A little farther on the result showed that Grant had got the Sherman votes in Mississippi, but there was nothing in the ballot to indicate that any such missionary work had been done during the night as to give prompt settlement to the great controversy. During this call Virginia and West Virginia both insisted upon an individual call, and it transpired that the Sherman delegate from West Virginia who was yesterday missing was on hand. The result of the ballot was loudly cheered by Ohio people and the Sherman men in general. It was getting their favorite ahead. The ballot resulted in 305 votes for Grant, 278 for Blaine, 116 for Sherman, 12 for Edmunds, 35 for Washburne, 7 for Windom, and 2 for Garfield.

“There were some indications as the thirtieth ballot progressed that the lesser candidates were giving way. Blaine took two of Washburne’s Illinois votes, and Blaine got three more of the Windom votes from Minnesota, making six of that lot for him. Great amusement was created toward the close of this ballot by the announcement of one vote for Gen. Phil Sheridan in Wyoming. Sheridan was on the stage, near the chair; and when he was a moment after discovered by the people, a shout went up from all over the house, and Sheridan finally arose and

said that he was very much obliged, but he couldn't take the nomination unless he were permitted to turn it over to his best friend. The galleries saw the point of this, since Sheridan's best friend is Grant, and all the Grant delegates made the best of the opportunity by an outburst of enthusiasm. The chair also detected the point, and said that while the distinguished soldier had been given permission to interrupt the order of the convention it would be granted no one else.

"On the thirty-first ballot two more of the Indiana votes left Blaine and went to Washburne. The Indiana men never were very stiff for Blaine, and have been waiting a chance to get away to somebody else. On this ballot also Thompson, of the Pennsylvania delegation, left Garfield and went to Grant, giving the third-termers 35 votes in that delegation. Caleb Taylor had been got around to Blaine, while Grier was holding the Garfield boom level, although he was entirely alone in his vote for the Ohio man. New Mexico kept up the good-nature of the galleries on this ballot by giving Conkling one vote. The result of the ballot was inspiring to the Grant men, and Conkling did his share of the cheering. Five more of Blaine's Indiana votes got away on the succeeding ballot, going to swell the Washburne column. Farther down the list he lost two from Wisconsin in the same way, and a cloud came over the Blaine side of the house. There was a hurried conference of the Maine senator's leaders in the aisle near where the Maine delegates sat, and it was a thoroughly dispirited crowd when the ballot was announced showing Grant's highest and Blaine's lowest. There was no ignoring the fact that the Grant lines

could not be broken, and that the Blaine lines were at this time wavering. It was apparent the convention was on the edge of a break. The thirty-third ballot, which was finished at half-past twelve, was without exciting vent, and with the exception of a little cheer when the Sherman votes of Alabama were cast for Blaine, was monotonous. About this time the Blaine managers began to get their men back into the lines, and a few scattering delegates, who were beginning to fear the solidity of the Grant column, turned in from their dark horses to Blaine. They didn't want Blaine, but they were not willing to see him crowded entirely off the track while Grant hung on.

"The close of the thirty-fourth ballot was marked by excitement, growing out of Wisconsin's 16 votes for Garfield. It was the beginning of the end. To make up this bunch, Washburne, Blaine, and Sherman had been drawn upon. This ballot brought Grant's vote up to 312, and served to arouse the Grant enthusiasm. Garfield here arose and addressed the chair. The chairman inquired for what purpose the gentleman rose. 'To a question of order,' said Garfield. 'The gentleman will state it,' said the chair.

"'I challenge,' said Mr. Garfield, 'the correctness of the announcement that contains votes for me. No man has a right, without the consent of the person voted for, to have his name announced and voted for in this convention. Such consent I have not given.'

"This was overruled by the chairman amidst laughter against Garfield, who had made the point on the vote cast for him by Wisconsin.

"The thirty-fifth was the most interesting ballot of the day so far. The call was quick, people had begun to show better spirits, and when the 27 Indianians, who had been looking around for some way out, cast themselves for Garfield, there was a deafening shout, and Garfield's seat was immediately surrounded. Maryland followed with four for the Ohio dark horse, and Wisconsin for a second time turned in sixteen of her votes solid for him. It was apparent that the Blaine movement had broken up, and the friends of Grant and Garfield had the cheering to themselves at the end of this ballot.

"The call of the States for the thirty-sixth ballot began amidst considerable excitement. Everybody saw that Blaine was now out of the way, and it was a matter of beating Grant so far as the opposition was concerned. It was evident, too, that it would have to be done with Garfield, and Connecticut led off on this ballot with 11 votes for him. The most of the Washburne vote of Illinois followed this, and when Indiana was called, General Harrison cast 29 of her 30 votes for Garfield. The storm at this point broke. The people rose up and gave one tremendous cheer, and hats and handkerchiefs were tossed high, as they had so often been before. The confusion had not fairly subsided when Iowa followed with 22 votes for Garfield, and the outburst was renewed and gained in force with every fresh start. A little farther down Maine cast her 14 votes for the Ohio man, and the cheering was greater than ever. The confusion was so great that it was almost impossible to go on with the call. The delegations of Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, and Mississippi each insisted upon an individual roll-call,

and the Blaine and Sherman votes nearly all turned up for Garfield. Conkling was dodging about a good deal at this time, but it dawned upon the Grant men that all was up with them. They were well disciplined, however, and hung together all the way down the call. It was getting down to Pennsylvania. Cameron sat imperturbable in the midst of his delegates, and was repeatedly urged to cast the solid Pennsylvania delegation for Blaine on this ballot. This would have prevented the nomination of Garfield on that ballot, at least, and might have stayed the Garfield cyclone by getting Blaine back on the track; but Cameron at this time would not acknowledge that Garfield could go through as he did go.

"Ohio was finally called. The delegation had been thrown into confusion, and it was some time in getting around, but it finally turned up with forty-three for Garfield, the missing delegate being Garfield himself. The convention relapsed into cheers again, but recovered in a moment to hear General Beaver announce the Pennsylvania vote as thirty-seven for Grant, twenty-one for Garfield. Gordon had swung around to Grant, and Hays, who had voted for Blaine, felt himself released when Maine virtually put him out of the field, and went with the Grant people. The Grant men got in a little cheer here, but it was of short life. As the call went on, as well as it could in the confusion, the Blaine delegates wheeled into line for Garfield. Vermont was wildly cheered when the ten Edmunds votes swung around, and Wisconsin's eighteen following shortly after, gave the man from Ohio a majority of the whole number.

"The thousands had kept tally and knew this. There

was a momentary hush, as if the seven or eight thousand people were taking breath, and then the storm burst, and while the cheering went on the banners of the several States were borne to the place where Ohio's delegation sat, Garfield in the midst of them, and there was a scene almost equal to that of midnight on Friday. The band was playing 'The Battle-Cry of Freedom,' at the lower end of the hall, and when the cheering subsided for a moment, the air was taken up and sung in chorus by thousands of voices. Everywhere flags were waving, and on the outside of the building cannon were booming and thousands were cheering. This went on for a quarter of an hour, during which time Conkling sat in his place at the head of his delegation without show of emotion of any sort. Efforts were made to get Garfield out, but he remained hidden in the midst of his Ohio friends.

"After Wisconsin the call of the Territories had little interest, and was conducted in the midst of the greatest confusion. The call for the first time was verified by a re-reading of the votes, and at the announcement of the result there was another outburst. The changes in the vote by which the nomination was reached are shown in the following table :

	29th.	30th.	31st.	32d.	33d.	34th.	35th.	36th.
Grant.....	305	306	308	309	309	312	313	306
Blaine.....	278	279	276	270	276	275	257	42
Sherman.....	116	120	119	117	110	107	99	3
Edmunds.....	12	11	11	11	11	11	11	..
Washburne.....	35	33	31	44	44	30	23	5
Windom.....	7	4	3	3	4	4	3	.
Garfield.....	2	2	1	1	1	17	50	399
Sheridan.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Conkling.....	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..

"After the announcement the band played the 'Conquering Hero,' and the people again stood upon the benches and hurrahed and yelled in the same old way. In the midst of this the tall form of Logan rose up, and he sought to be heard. Conkling was standing in the aisle, asking the attention of the chair. As soon as order was restored, Conkling was recognized, and in a husky voice, sadly in contrast with his tones of the past five days, asked to have the nomination of Garfield made unanimous. He was loudly cheered. His speech was as follows :

"'Mr. Chairman : James A. Garfield, of Ohio, having received a majority of all the votes cast, I rise to move that he be unanimously presented as the nominee of the convention. The chair, under the rules, anticipated me, but being on my feet I avail myself of the opportunity to congratulate the Republican party of the nation on the good-natured and well-tempered disposition which has distinguished this animated convention. [Cries of 'Louder !' from the galleries.] I should like to speak louder, but having sat here under a cold wind I find myself unable to do so. I was about to say, Mr. Chairman, that I trust that the zeal, the fervor, and now the unanimity of the scenes of the convention will be transplanted to the field of the country, and that all of us who have borne a part against each other will be found with equal zeal bearing the banners and carrying the 'ances of the Republican party into the ranks of the enemy.' [Applause.]

"Conkling was followed by Logan, who spoke in the midst of calls for Garfield, but Garfield could not be

induced to show himself, and Logan got a chance finally to go on with a speech after the manner of Conkling. He said:

“Gentlemen of the Convention: We are to be congratulated at having arrived at a conclusion in respect to presenting the name of a candidate to be the standard-bearer of the Republican party for President of the United States in union and harmony with each other. Whatever may have transpired in this convention that may have produced feelings of annoyance will be, I hope, considered as a matter of the past. I, with the friends of one of the grandest men on the face of the earth, stood here to fight a friendly battle for his nomination, but this convention has chosen another leader, and the men who stood by Grant will be seen in the front of the contest for Mr. Garfield. [Cheers.] We will go forward in the contest, not with tied hands, not with sealed lips, not with bridled tongues, but to speak the truth in favor of the grandest party that has ever been organized in this country, to maintain its principles, to uphold its power, to preserve its ascendancy, and my judgment is that, with the leader whom you have chosen, victory will perch on our banners. [Cheers.] As one of the Republicans from Illinois I second the nomination of James A. Garfield, and hope it will be made unanimous.” [Cheers.]

“After this, General Beaver, from the head of the Pennsylvania delegation, was heard. He referred to Pennsylvania as having first put Garfield in nomination, and stood by him with one vote when there were no others for him, and he promised the largest majority that

Pennsylvania has given at a Presidential election in recent years. Here is his speech :

“ ‘The State of Pennsylvania having had the honor of first nominating in this convention the gentleman who has been chosen as the standard-bearer of the Republican party in the approaching national contest, I rise to second the motion which has been made to make the nomination unanimous, and to assure this convention and the people of the country that Pennsylvania is heartily in accord with the nomination [cheers]; that she gives her full concurrence to it, and that this country may expect from her the greatest majority that has been given for a Presidential candidate in many years.’ ”

“Mr. Hale, of Maine, said: ‘Standing here to return our heartfelt thanks to the many men in this convention who have aided us in the fight that we made for the Senator from Maine, and speaking for them here, as I know that I do, I say this most heartily. We have not got the man whom we hoped to nominate when we came here, but we have got a man in whom we have the greatest and most marked confidence. The nominee of this convention is no new or untried man, and in that respect he is no “dark horse.” When he came here, representing his State in the front of his delegation and was seen here every man knew him, because of his record; and because of that and because of our faith in him, and because we were, in the emergency, glad to help make him the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States,—because, I say, of those things, I shall stand here to pledge the Maine

forces in this convention to earnest effort from now until the ides of November to help carry him to the Presidential chair.' [Cheers.]

"Then Hale brought all the Blaine folks into this apartment love-feast. A Texas delegate, one of those old Whigs who don't intend to cut their hair until Henry Clay is elected President, also agreed to the candidate. But he did go so far as to promise the vote of Texas to him. General Harrison, who said he was the only defeated candidate for President on the floor, because his misguided friend from Pennsylvania, meaning Caleb Taylor, did not have staying powers, promised Indiana to Garfield. At this time there were immense crowds in every part of the hall, particularly on the stage and the press platform, and when the nomination was made unanimous, people couldn't be made to keep still. Some of those in a hurry wanted to go right on with the nomination, but General Harrison, at about half-past two, got a recess till five o'clock, as he said, for consultation."

The convention reassembled in the afternoon. The nomination of a candidate for Vice-President of the United States was the business on hand.

California presented E. B. Washburne; Connecticut brought out ex-Governor Jewell; Florida handed in the name of Judge Settle; Tennessee urged Horace Maynard. But these attracted little attention, and it was not until General Woodford, of New York, arose and nominated Chester A. Arthur, that the convention began to wake up.

A ballot was finally reached, the galleries cheering every mention of Washburne's name. The result of the

ballot was so generally foreseen that no particular concern was manifested over the result. There was some cheering, but the enthusiasm of this extraordinary convention had about worn out. The ballot stood: Arthur, 468; Washburne, 19; Maynard, 30; Jewell, 44; Bruce, 8; Woodford, 1; Davis, 2. The Pennsylvania vote was given—47 to Arthur, 11 to Washburne. The nomination of Arthur was made unanimous on motion of California, and then the convention fell to passing a lot of resolutions of compliment to everybody, after which a committee of one from each State, with Senator Hoar for chairman, was appointed to notify the candidates of their nomination. Filley, of Missouri, then, explaining that life is short, got in a motion to adjourn, which was adopted, and people dispersed for good.

The following is the Platform, or Declaration of Principles, adopted by the Convention:

“The Republican party in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration. It suppressed rebellion, which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed four million human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our currency from thirty-eight per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all

the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the care of the nation from the point from where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium under its administration; railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879; our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and dispersed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charges from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statements of the principle and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

“*First.* We affirm that the work of the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of the costly victory which we have achieved through immense difficulties

should be preserved ; after that the peace regained should be cherished ; that the dissevered Union now happily restored should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations ; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired ; that the pensions promised should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof ; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

“ Second. The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation while others are denied to the States, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National and not by the State tribunals.

“ Third. The work of popular education is left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional duty. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence of the several States, and the destiny of the nation must not be guided by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.

“ Fourth. The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each State and to for

bid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

"Fifth. We affirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor. That no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories. That everywhere the protection accorded to citizens of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our watercourses and harbors, but that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the hour of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory; to do them perpetual honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

"Sixth. Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with Congress, or with the United States and its treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted emigration of Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of those powers to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

"Seventh. That the purity and patriotism which characterize the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our im-

mediate predecessors to him for a Presidential candidate have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interpositions between the people and proposed partisan laws.

“*Eighth.* We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage ; that to obtain possession of the National and State Governments and the control of place and position they have obstructed all effort to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage, and have devised fraudulent certifications and returns, have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives ; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courage in action of Maine’s patriotic sons ; have by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice attached partisan legislation to bills upon whose passage the very movements of government depend ; have crushed the rights of individuals, have advocated the principle and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war and to overcome its inestimable valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and communities guaranteed by the Constitution

are the first duties of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizens; the execution of the laws and the punishment of all those who violate them are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform, and the nation cannot with safety delegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the powerful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression, and to this end the honest voters must be protected against terrorism, violence, and fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use every legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony as may be practicable; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope."

The following resolution was added to the platform:

"The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last national convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointment to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform in the civil service shall be thorough, radical, and complete. To that end it demands the co-operation of

the legislative with the executive departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service."

The correspondent of the New York *Tribune* wrote as follows concerning the scene attending the nomination of General Garfield :

"When General Harrison mounted on his chair and called out that Indiana, out of 30 votes, gave 29 for Garfield, neither the convention nor the galleries could contain themselves any longer. There was a universal uproar; half the convention rose to its feet. Leaders of all factions ran hurriedly hither and thither through the convention; and, while the building was resounding with loud cheers for Garfield, there was a cluster of excited delegates about the general himself, who, sat quiet and cool in his ordinary place at the end of one of the rows of seats in the Ohio delegation, having his own seat in the middle aisle near the very rear of the convention.

"He wore the white badge of an Ohio delegate on his coat, and held his massive head steadily immovable. But for an appearance of extra resoluteness on his face, as that of a man who was repressing internal excitement, he might have been supposed to have as little interest in the proceedings as any other delegate on the floor of the convention. He was, in fact, going through one of the most extraordinary experiences ever given to an American citizen. He was being struck by Presidential lightning while sitting in the body which was to nominate him. He was being nominated for Presi

dent at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, when he could hardly have dreamed of such a thing at nine o'clock in the morning.

"There has been no such dramatic incident in politics, for a great many years at least, except possibly the nomination of Horatio Seymour in 1868. Entirely apart from all political considerations, it was an extraordinary and impressive incident to see this quiet man suddenly wheeled by a popular sentiment into the position of standard-bearer to the great Republican party, and in all probability into the Presidency itself, with its great power and world-wide fame. All this while the crowd had been cheering, and the elements of the convention were dissolving and crystallizing in an instant of time.

"Where the Sherman vote was going, whether simply by force of drifting or not, was apparent enough when a North Carolina delegate seized the banner of his State and waved it towards the Ohio delegation, all of whom were on their feet. The situation was indeed peculiar. General Garfield had entered the convention as the loyal representative of Secretary Sherman, who was still a candidate. The Ohio delegation, most of whom were warm friends of both men, were in honor bound to support Mr. Sherman so long as there was any possibility of his nomination. General Garfield had, like a truthful and honorable gentleman, set his face from the first against all suggestions that he should become a candidate, feeling that any yielding to such suggestions would be rankly disloyal to the friend he had come to support. Now he was being forced into the field in spite of himself, and the indications were that his own vote

would soon surpass that of his candidate. The Ohio delegation were seen to be in anxious, flurried consultation about General Garfield's chair, ex-Governor Denison, Congressman Butterworth, and Major Bickham being prominent in the group.

"Nothing seemed to come of it, however, and when the crowd had been quieted down the secretary was again in his place, ready to resume the roll-call. When he called 'Iowa' every ear was strained to hear the reply, which had to travel from the farthest limit of the body of delegates. The 22 votes of that State had been cast on every ballot for James G. Blaine, and if these votes should be cast for Garfield, it would prove that the instantaneous fusion of the anti-Grant elements of the convention was complete. When the chairman of the delegation called out that Iowa cast 22 votes for James A. Garfield, a wild storm of cheering broke out, which after a few moments died away, while there was a renewal of the hasty and whispered consultation among the Ohio delegates about General Garfield's chair. Suddenly the Ohio delegation broke out in cries and applause, and an electric cheer spread from them as a centre in an instant all over the convention, telling without any need of words that Ohio's new candidate had replaced the old; that Secretary Sherman had been withdrawn, and that, with the full consent of his friends, Garfield was a candidate.

"From this time the votes split off between Grant and Garfield almost without exception, the roll-call proceeding amid the growing exultation of the anti-Grant men, who thought they saw victory before them. Kan-

sas gave its 6 Blaine votes to Garfield, Grant's 4 votes standing firm. In Kentucky the Blaine votes came to Garfield. Every Garfield vote now was applauded, while Mr. Conkling watched the secretary with a cold eye. Senator Kellogg cast the vote of Louisiana, 8 for Garfield 8 for Grant. When Maine was called, Mr. Hale arose, looking sad, to be sure, but still with his accustomed air of quiet resolution, and cast those 14 votes, that represented so much loyal affection for James G. Blaine, for James A. Garfield, of Ohio. There was a great cheer at this for the men from Maine, with many expressions of sympathy for their keen disappointment passing through the throng. Almost the whole body of the convention was up hurrahing at the rate of three times three a minute. **Garfield was nominated."**

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL GARFIELD SINCE THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

The Nomination unsought by General Garfield—Congratulatory Telegrams—How the News was received in Congress—Scene in the House—General Garfield notified of his Nomination—His Reply—Returns Home—Reception at Cleveland—General Garfield presides at the Reunion of Hiram College—His Speech on that Occasion—A Glance at the Past—Reception at Mentor—Visit to Painesville—General Garfield addresses his Neighbors—Sunday at Home—General Garfield returns to Washington City—His Journey—A Serenade at Washington—Speech of General Garfield—Adjournment of Congress—Fourth of July Speech at Painesville—General Garfield's Letter accepting the Nomination for the Presidency—Personal Characteristics—General Garfield's Washington Home—The Farm at Mentor—The Garfield Family.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S nomination for the Presidency had come to him entirely unsought. He had loyally supported the claims of Secretary Sherman to the office, and had discountenanced all attempts to put himself forward as a candidate for the high honor. The convention, however, had seen fit to nominate him in spite of his reluctance. The nomination gave great satisfaction throughout the country, and it was universally admitted that the choice of the convention was the best that could have been made.

The following telegrams were received by General Garfield immediately after the nomination was made:

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 8.

“General James A. GARFIELD:—You will receive no heartier congratulation to-day than mine. This both for your own and your country’s sake. “R. B. HAYES.”

“WASHINGTON, D. C.

“Hon. James A. GARFIELD:—Accept my hearty congratulation. The country is to be congratulated, as well as yourself. “C. SCHURZ.”

Dispatches to like effect were also received from other members of the Cabinet.

“WASHINGTON, June 8.

“Hon. James A. GARFIELD, Chicago:—I congratulate you with all my heart upon your nomination as President of the United States. You have saved the Republican party and the country from a great peril and assured the continued success of Republican principles.

“JOHN SHERMAN.”

“WASHINGTON, Tuesday—1.45 P. M.

“Hon. James A. GARFIELD, Chicago:—Maine’s vote, this moment cast for you, goes with my hearty concurrence. I hope it will aid in securing your nomination and assuring victory to the Republican party.

“JAMES G. BLAINE.”

General Garfield replied as follows:

“CHICAGO, June 8.

“Hon. J. G. BLAINE, Washington:—Accept my thanks for your generous despatch. “JAMES A. GARFIELD.”

The scene in the House of Representatives, Washington, on receipt of the news of Gen. Garfield's nomination, is thus described in the Associated Press despatches :

"The House passed a whole batch of private bills to-day. Finally a public-building bill was called up and objected to, whereupon Mr. Hooker emphatically declared his intention of objecting to every proposition presented. A noisy discussion ensued, and the confusion was increased by the Chicago despatches which were coming in announcing the large additions to Garfield's vote. Order was only secured when Blackburn (Kentucky) presented the report of the conference committee on the post-office appropriation bill, which report was agreed to. Mr. Hooker adhered to his intention of objecting to every proposition, and a motion was made to adjourn. During the calling of the roll there was a great deal of excitement shown by the members over the convention news, and when Garfield's name was called it was greeted with applause on both the Republican and Democratic side of the chamber.

"The announcement which came in soon afterward that Garfield was nominated was received with loud cheers and applause from the members who had assembled in the lobby back of the Speaker's desk, and the confusion was so great that the roll-call was interrupted. Members gathered in groups and discussed the nomination of Garfield, which appeared to meet with almost universal approval from the Republicans, and was conceded by the Democrats to be a strong one. The second call of Garfield's name was the signal for a burst of applause from the Republicans.

"The motion was finally carried, and accordingly, the House at 2.30 adjourned. Cheers for Garfield were then given, while cries of 'Speech from Hawley' and 'Hawley for Vice-President' went up, but that gentleman did not respond.

"Mr. Robeson.—I move that General Hawley take the chair. This was carried unanimously amid loud cheers. When Hawley took the chair the House presented a curious sight. Every chair was occupied, the seats of the absent members being filled by spectators who, upon the adjournment, had crowded into the hall, while in the rear of the seats were groups of men evidently full of excitement.

"Mr. Hawley, on taking the chair, said: I beg leave to say that we occupy this floor with the kind consent of our friends on the right, who will have their opportunity by-and-bye. [Laughter. Cries of 'Speech! Speech!']

"Mr. Hawley.—I have no speech to make. The nomination made at Chicago is its own speech for every Republican of this House, and our personal good-will goes with our old friend and associate, General Garfield. [Applause.] I have no doubt from what I have seen and heard, that this event—this consummation—is in the very highest degree satisfactory to every Republican here, whatever may have been his personal preference. [Applause.] We have been warmly divided in the past; we will be much more warmly united in the future. [Loud applause.] I think one result will be—I am supposing that there are no Democrats here—to compel an excellent nomination on the other side, so that the country we all love will be certain of a good President for

the next four years, personally, whatever his political opinions may be." (Loud applause, in which the Democrats joined.)

Mr. Robeson was loudly called. In response, that gentleman said: "As members of the American Congress—

"A Democrat.—Both sides?"

"Mr. Robeson, continuing.—Both sides. I think we have a right to congratulate the whole country that a man whom we all know to be a man of character and capacity beyond impeachment, has been nominated by one of the great political parties for the highest office in the gift of the people. [Applause.] Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I speak in acknowledgment in behalf of the House of Representatives that one of our number, conspicuous before the people on account of his services on this floor, has been selected as the standard-bearer of the great political party to which I belong. That is a sentiment which affects neither the politics nor the feelings of anybody, and I ask everybody within the reach of my voice to join me in giving three cheers for the candidate selected from our body as the candidate of a great party. [The Republicans rose and gave the three cheers with a will, but the Democrats, though joining in the cheering, retained their seats.] I move, Mr. Chairman, that a committee be appointed, and I suggest as its chairman the oldest member of the House, Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, to send by telegraph our congratulations to our fellow-Congressman on his nomination. [Applause.] Cries then went up for 'Kelley,' and Chairman Hawley stated that Mr. Kelley would have occupied the chair, but that he had not been present."

“Mr. Kelley.—I have been in that chair but once, though I have been here nineteen years, and then I felt so like a fool that I never got into it again. [Laughter.] I thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Robeson) and his associates on this floor for having delegated to me the chairmanship of the committee to which has been confided so grateful a duty. I beg leave to inform the chairman and the House that, taking advantage of circumstances, I slipped out when Garfield was at 338 and sent the following telegram: ‘Accept congratulations and pledge of earnest support.’ [Applause.] I rejoice most heartily in this nomination. General Garfield is a man of rare force of character, of wide attainments, of great simplicity, and a man who adheres as firmly as a true party man even may to his personal convictions; and our friends on the other side, in the dejection which now overcomes them while a bad nomination for them is possible, will find satisfaction in knowing that they know the man to be one who will administer the government faithfully, fairly, and patriotically after we shall have inaugurated him.” (Applause.)

The chair appointed Kelley, Robeson, Browne, Martin (N. C.), Page, Richardson (N. Y.), and Henderson (Ill.) as the committee to send a congratulatory telegram to Garfield.

Mr. Richardson was appointed at the suggestion of Mr. Voorhees (N. Y.), who was unwilling that the great State of New York should not be represented on the committee, and Henderson at the suggestion of Cannon (Ill.), who thought that Illinois, “the third State—always Republican,” should be represented.

The meeting then, after giving three more cheers for Garfield, adjourned.

The following is the full text of the telegram immediately sent to General Garfield :

“ WASHINGTON, June 8, 1880.

“ To General J. A. GARFIELD, Chicago :—“ Under instruction of your Congressional associates, assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives, General Hawley in the chair, we congratulate you on your nomination as the candidate of the great Republican party for the Presidency of the United States.

“ W. D. KELLEY,	GEO. M. ROBESON,
THOS. M. BROWNE,	JOSEPH J. MARTIN,
HORACE F. PAGE,	D. P. RICHARDSON,
THOMAS J. HENDERSON.”	

The convention appointed a committee to wait upon General Garfield and inform him of his nomination. This committee waited upon him at his rooms at the Grand Pacific Hotel, on the evening of the 8th of June. It was headed by Senator Hoar, the chairman of the convention.

“ General Garfield,” said Mr. Hoar, “ the gentlemen present are appointed by the National Republican Convention, representatives of every State in the Union, who have been directed to convey to you the formal ceremonial notice of your nomination as the Republican candidate for the office of President of the United States. It is known to you that the convention which has made this nomination assembled divided in opinion and in council in regard to the candidate. It may not be known to you

with what unanimity of pleasure and of hopes the convention has received the result which it has reached. You represent not only the distinctive principles and opinion of the Republican party, but you represent also its unity, and in the name of every State in the Union represented on the committee, I convey to you the assurance of the cordial support of the Republican party of these States at the coming election."

General Garfield replied: "Mr. President and Gentlemen: I assure you that the information you have officially given me brings the sense of very grave responsibility, and especially so in view of the fact that I was a member of your body, a fact which could not have been so with propriety had I had the slightest expectation that my own name would be connected with the nomination for the office. I have felt with you great solicitude regarding the situation of our party during the struggle, but believing that you are correct in assuring me that substantial unity has been reached in the conclusion, it gives me gratification far greater than any personal pleasure your announcement can bring. I accept the trust committed to my hands. As to the work of our party, as to the character of the campaign to be entered upon, I will take an early occasion to reply more fully than I can properly do now. I thank you for the assurances of confidence and esteem and unity which you have presented me with, and shall hope that we may see our future as promising as are the indications of to-night."

General Garfield left Chicago by the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad, on the morning of June 9th. Cleveland was reached about 8.30 in the evening. The

journey was an unbroken ovation, General Garfield being received at all the points on the line by large and enthusiastic crowds. Cleveland was ablaze with enthusiasm. After a rousing welcome at the depot, General Garfield was conveyed to the Kennard House as quickly as possible, where speeches were made from the balcony by Governor Foster, General Ed. S. Meyer, and Judge P. F. Young. General Garfield said :

“Fellow Citizens of my Native County and of my State : I thank you for this remarkable demonstration of your good-will and enthusiasm on this occasion. I cannot at this time proceed upon any speech. All that I have to say is, that I know that all this demonstration means your gladness of the unity and harmony and good feeling of a great political party, and in part your good feeling toward a neighbor, an old friend. For all of these reasons I thank you, and bid you good night.”

There was great applause and cheers.

The 10th of June was passed pleasantly at Cleveland, and on the 11th, General Garfield presided at the reunion of Hiram College. The trains that arrived at Hiram were crowded to overflowing with people, and the enthusiasm for the general completely overshadowed the interest in any of the proceedings where he was not the central figure. The Presidential candidate received in the morning a number of congratulatory and business telegrams and letters, some of the more important of which he answered. He did not attend the early forenoon society gathering, but at half-past ten o'clock, with Dr. J. P. Robeson, Captain C. E. Henry, President B. A. Hinsdale, of Hiram College, and Mr. William Robeson—all

old friends--he entered the Reunion Hall. There were loud cheers as the general assumed his place on the platform. Prayer was offered by the Rev. J. Knight, of Wilmington, Ohio, and President Hinsdale arose and introduced General Garfield as chairman, with explanatory remarks as to why it had been arranged to have the reunion. The preparations, Mr. Hinsdale said, were made before the nomination of General Garfield, and he had accepted an invitation to preside over the reunion meeting two months ago. On taking the chair, General Garfield was greeted with loud applause. He said :

“Mr. President and fellow-citizens : I have been so many years accustomed to visit you that it would be entirely unbecoming in me to be the cause of disorder and disturbance. I am here, first, because I promised to be here, and second, because I greatly desire to be here, and I will not interfere with the course of your proposed programme. Certainly not at this time, but will begin immediately by introducing to you the gentleman who was to deliver the regular address of the reunion, the Rev. J. M. Atwater, once a student in this place, and still later the president of the college, and now a distinguished minister.”

The address of Mr. Atwater related to college matters, and was well received. At the close, General Garfield made a brief speech complimenting the previous addresses and referring to the past history of the college. The Rev. A. S. Hayden then spoke, after which General Garfield delivered the following address :

“Ladies and gentlemen : There are two chapters in the history of this institution. You have heard the one

relating to the founders. They were all pioneers of this Western reserve, or nearly all. They were all men of knowledge and great force of character. Nearly all were not men of means, but they planned this little institution. In 1850 it was a cornfield, with a solid brick building in the centre of it, and that was all. Almost all the rest has been the work of the institution itself.

“Without a dollar of endowment, without a powerful friend anywhere, but with a corps of teachers who were told to go on to the ground and see what they could make out of it, to find their own pay out of the little tuition that they could receive. They invited students of their own spirit to come on the ground and see what they could make of it, and the response has been that many have come, and the chief part of the respondents I see in the faces around and before me to-day. It was a simple question of sinking or swimming for themselves. And I know that we are all inclined to be a little clannish over our own. We have, perhaps, a right to be; but I do not know of any place, I do not know of any institution that has accomplished more with so little means as has this school on Hiram Hill.

“I know of no place where the doctrine of self-help has a fuller development, by necessity as well as finally by choice, as here on this hill. The doctrine of self-help and of force has the chief place among these men and women around here. As I said a great many years ago about that, the act of Hiram was to throw its young men and women overboard and let them try it for themselves; and all those men able to get ashore got ashore, and I think we have few cases of drowning anywhere.

“Now, I look over these faces, and I mark the several geological changes remarked by Mr. Atwater so well in his address; but in the few cases of change of geological fact there is, I find, no fossils. Some are dead and glorified in our memories, but those who are not are alive—I think all.

“The teachers and the students of this school built it up in every sense. They made the cornfield into Hiram Campus. Those fine groves you see across the road, they planted. I well remember the day when they turned out into the woods to find beautiful maples, and brought them in; when they raised a little purse to purchase evergreen; when each young man, for himself one, and perhaps a second for some young lady, if he was in love, planted two trees on the campus, and then named them after himself. There are several here to-day who remember Bolen. Bolen planted there a tree, and Bolen has planted a tree that has a lustre—Bolen was shot through the heart at Winchester.

“There are many here that can go and find the tree that you have named after yourself. They are great, strong trees to-day, and your names, like your trees, are, I hope, growing still.

“I believe outside of or beyond the physical features of the place, that there was a stronger pressure of work to the square inch in the boilers that run this establishment than any other that I know of, and, as has been so well said, that has told all the while with these young men and women. The struggle, wherever the uncouth and untutored farmer boys—a farmer, of course—that came here to try themselves and find what kind of people

they were. They came here to go on a voyage of discovery. Your discovery was yourselves, in many cases. I hope the discovery was a fortune, and the friendships then formed out of that have bound this group of people longer and farther than most any other I have known in life. They are scattered all over the United States, in every field of activity, and if I had time to name them, the sun would go down before I had finished.

"I believe the rules of this institution limits us to time—I think it is said five minutes. I may have overgone it already. We have so many already that we want to hear from, we will all volunteer. We expect now to wrestle awhile with the work before us. Some of these boys remember the time when I had an exercise that I remember with pleasure. I called a young lad out in a class and said, in two minutes you are to speak to the best of your ability on the following subject (naming it), and gave the subject and let him wrestle with it. I was trying a theory, and I believe that wrestling was a good thing. I will not vary the performance save in this. I will call you and restrict you to five minutes, and let you select your theme about the old days of Hiram.

"Now, we have a grave judge in this audience, who wandered away from Hiram into the forty-second regiment into the South, and, after the victory, stayed there. I will call now, not as a volunteer man, but as a drafted man, Judge Clark, of Mississippi."

There were other speeches, and early in the evening General Garfield, amid loud cheers, bid adieu to Hiram, and drove to his home in Mentor.

On the morning of the 12th, General Garfield was

given a rousing reception by the citizens of Mentor, at the Lake Shore Railroad depot, where they had erected an arch in his honor. Immediately after dinner, General Garfield stepped into a carriage, with his near friend and neighbor, Dr. J. P. Robinson, and drove toward Painesville, where another reception by the Lake county people was to take place at Ryder's Hotel, a half-way house between Painesville and Mentor. A band of music and a procession of carriages met him. Mayor J. B. Burroughs, of Painesville, brother of Congressman Burroughs, of Michigan, and Mr. A. T. Tinker, president of the Painesville Garfield Club, were in the van. These two gentlemen entered the general's carriage amid loud cheers. As they passed Lake Erie Seminary, the pupils waved handkerchiefs and applauded General Garfield. The procession increased in size and marched through the principal streets of Painesville, finally bringing up at the public square, where there was a throng of people.

Mayor Burroughs introduced General Garfield, who, after the applause had subsided, spoke as follows :

“Fellow Citizens and Neighbors of Lake County : I am exceedingly glad to know that you care enough to come out on a hot day like this in the midst of your busy work to congratulate me. I know it comes from the hearts of as noble a people as lives on the earth. [Cheers.] In my somewhat long public services there never has been a time, in however great difficulties I may have been placed, that I could not feel the strength that came from resting back upon the people of the Nineteenth district. To know that they were behind me with their intelligence, their critical judgment, their

confidence and their support was to make me strong in everything I undertook that was right. I have always felt your sharp, severe, and just criticism, and my worthy, noble, supporting friends always did what they believed was right. I know you have come here to-day not altogether, indeed not nearly, for my sake, but for the sake of the relations I am placed in to the larger constituency of the people of the United States. It is not becoming in me to speak nor shall I speak one word touching politics. I know you are here to-day without regard to politics. I know you are all here as my neighbors and my friends, and as such I greet you and thank you for this candid and gracious welcome. [Cheers.] Thus far in my life I have sought to do what I could according to my light. More than that I could never hope to do. All of that I shall try to do, and if I can continue to have the good opinion of my neighbors of this district, it will be one of my greatest satisfactions. I thank you again, fellow-citizens, for this cordial and generous welcome." (Applause and cheers.)

Mr. Tinker delivered a formal speech of reception and was followed by Dr. Robinson, Judge Reuben Hitchcock, and William Slade. General Garfield then shook hands with hundreds of enthusiastic people, and at dusk left for his home, where he remained quietly over Sunday.

On Sunday he attended church in the morning, and was the centre of attraction for hundreds of country eyes. After dinner he endeavored to answer some of the vast amount of letters that have accumulated, but no sooner had he written a few lines than some callers would in-

interrupt him. Many from the surrounding towns and country drove to Mentor to look at the general, and at least to shake hands, if not to converse at length, and none could be absolutely turned away. The general was called on in the evening by friends from far off Cleveland.

On the morning of the 14th, General Garfield left Mentor for Washington City. He arrived at Youngstown early in the forenoon and there took the through train on the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Road and arrived in Pittsburgh at 8.27 P. M. He telegraphed the Baltimore and Ohio authorities, and they held back the through express from 7.55 to 8.35 for him. The passenger agent of the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie drove him to the Baltimore and Ohio depot, where, notwithstanding his efforts to avoid recognition, a little crowd soon congregated. "I will not be interviewed," he said, in response to a reporter. Then he received the congratulations of a long line of admirers and friends, who shook his hand as he passed on through the car. While he was yet returning thanks the train pulled out of the depot, his admirers dismounted and the general was left to the mercy of the newspaper men who stuck by him. He was far more anxious to interview than to be interviewed. He fired questions thick and fast. Buried in the seclusion of his own home he had not heard the report of Tilden's withdrawal, and when informed of the report he went into a deep study for an instant. He was exceedingly anxious to know how the news of his nomination was received in this neighborhood, and when informed that the enthusiasm was intense he appeared

greatly gratified. He stated that he had received a grand ovation at Youngstown and other points along the line, considering that he had striven to keep his journey quiet. When the train reached Hazlewood, on the Baltimore and Ohio Road, within the city limits, a stop was made so that the general could show himself to the Garfield Club of that ward. Three rousing cheers were given for the nominee, and the general returned thanks. The cheers were renewed as the train pulled out.

Washington was reached the next day, and during the remainder of the session of Congress Gen. Garfield devoted himself to his duties as a member of the House.

On the evening of the 16th of July, a serenade was given to General Garfield, at his quarters at the Riggs House, by the National Veteran Association. The portico of the Riggs House was tastefully draped with flags and bunting, and the surrounding streets were brilliantly illuminated with calcium lights, while at frequent intervals rockets and other fireworks were set off from the steps of the Treasury Department. As the procession filed past cheers were given for Garfield, and as that gentleman appeared on the platform, accompanied by ex-Secretary Robeson and Attorney-General Devens, they were renewed. General Devens made a short speech, in which he referred to the great Republican Presidents, Lincoln, Grant, and Hayes, and each name was greeted with cheers. He then introduced General Garfield as a soldier whose shield is unsoiled and whose sword is spotless; a statesman on whom rests no stain or dishonor; a Christian gentleman, respecting the rights of every man because he himself is kind, considerate, and self-respecting

always. General Garfield returned thanks for the demonstration and said :

“I cannot at this time utter a word on the subject of general politics. I would not mar the cordiality of this welcome, to which to some extent all are gathered, by any reference except to the present moment and its significance; but I wish to say that a large portion of this assemblage to-night are my comrades, late of the war for the Union. For them I can speak with entire propriety, and can say that these very streets heard the measured tread of your disciplined feet years ago, when the imperilled Republic needed your hands and your hearts to save it. And you came back with your numbers decimated, but those you left behind were immortal and glorified heroes forever; and those you brought back came carrying, under tattered banners and in bronzed hands, the ark of the covenant of your Republic in safety out of the bloody baptism of the war [cheers]; and you brought it in safety to be saved forever by your valor and the wisdom of your brethren who were at home, and by this you were again added to the great civil army of the Republic. I greet you, comrades and fellow-soldiers and the great body of distinguished citizens who are gathered here to-night, who are the strong stay and support of the business, of the prosperity, of the peace, of the civic ardor and glory of the Republic, and I thank you for your welcome to-night. It was said in a welcome to one who came to England to be a part of her glory—and all the nation spoke when it was said :

‘ Normans and Saxons and Danes are we,
But all of us Danes in our welcome of thee ;’

and we say to-night of all the nation, of all the people, soldiers and civilians, there is one name that welds us all into one, it is the name of American citizen, under the Union and under the glory of the flag that led us to victory and to peace. [Applause.] For this magnificent welcome, I thank you with all there is in my heart."

Loud cheers were then given for General Garfield as he retired from the platform, and his place was taken by other speakers.

Upon the adjournment of Congress, General Garfield returned to his home at Mentor.

The Fourth of July falling on Sunday, the citizens of Lake County. celebrated the third in its place, and on that day dedicated, at Painesville, their beautiful monument to the memory of the soldiers of the district who fell in defence of the Union. General Garfield was the orator of the day. He said :

"Fellow-Citizens: I cannot fail to respond on such an occasion, in sight of such a monument to such a cause, sustained by such men. [Applause and cheers.] While I have listened to what my friend has said, two questions have been sweeping through my heart. One was 'What does the monument mean?' and the other 'What will the monument teach?' Let me try and ask you for a moment to help me to answer What does the monument mean? Oh, the monument means a world of memories and a world of deeds, and a world of tears, and a world of glories. You know, thousands know, what it is to offer up your life to the country, and that is no small thing, as every soldier knows. Let me put the question to you for a moment.

“Suppose your country, in the awfully embodied form of majestic law, should stand above you and say, ‘I want your life; come up here on the platform and offer it,’—how many would walk up before that majestic presence and say, ‘Here I am; take this life and use it for your great needs?’ [Applause.] And yet almost two million of men made that answer [Applause], and a monument stands yonder to commemorate their answer. That is one of its meanings. But, my friends, let me try you a little farther. To give up life is much, for it is to give up wife and home and child and ambition. But let me test you this way farther. Suppose this awfully majestic form should call out to you and say, ‘I ask you to give up health and drag yourself, not dead, but half alive, through a miserable existence for long years, until you perish and die in your crippled and helpless condition. I ask you to volunteer to do that.’ It calls for a higher reach of patriotism and self-sacrifice, but hundreds of thousands of you soldiers did that. That is what the movement means also. But let me ask you to go one step farther. Suppose your country should say, ‘Come here on this platform, and in my name and for my sake consent to be idiots. [A voice—“Hear, hear!”] Consent that your very brain and intellect shall be broken down into hopeless idiocy for my sake,—how many could be found to make that venture? And yet thousands, and that with their eyes wide open to the horrible consequences, obeyed that call.

“And let me tell how 100,000 of our soldiers were prisoners of war, and many of them, when death was stalking near, when famine was climbing up into their

hearts, and idiocy was threatening all that was left of their intellect, the gates of their prison stood open every day if they would quit, desert their flag, and enlist under the flag of the enemy; and, out of 180,000, not two per cent. ever received the liberation from death, starvation, idiocy, all that might come to them; but they took all these horrors and all these sufferings in preference to going back upon the flag of their country and the glory of its truth. [Applause.] Great God! was ever such measure of patriotism reached by any man on this earth before? [Applause.] That is what your monument means. By the subtle chemistry that no man knows, all the blood that was shed by our brethren, all the lives that were devoted, all the grief that was felt, at last crystallized itself into granite, rendered immortal the great truth for which they died—[applause]—and it stands there to-day; and that is what your monument means.

“Now, what does it teach? What will it teach? Why, I remember the story of one of the old conquerors of Greece who, when he had travelled in his boyhood over the battle-fields where Miltiades had won victories, and set up trophies—returning, he said: ‘These trophies of Miltiades will never let me sleep.’ Why? Something had taught him from the chiselled stone a lesson that he could never forget. And, fellow-citizens, that silent sentinel, that crowned granite column, will look down upon the boys that will walk these streets for generations to come, and will not let them sleep when the country calls them. From the dead lips of the bugler on the field will go out a call that the children of Lake County

will hear after the grave has covered us all and our immediate children. That is the teaching of your monument. That is its lesson, and it is the lesson of endurance for what we believe, and it is the lesson of sacrifices for what we think; the lesson of heroism for what we mean to sustain; and that lesson cannot be lost to a people like this. It is not a lesson of revenge; it is not a lesson of wrath; it is the grand, sweet, broad lesson of the immortality of the truth that we hope will soon cover, as with the grand shekinah of light and glory, all parts of this Republic from the lakes to the gulf. [Applause.]

“I once entered a house in old Massachusetts, where over its doors were two crossed swords. One was the sword carried by the grandfather of its owner on the field of Bunker Hill, and the other was the sword carried by the English grandsire of the wife on the same field and on the other side of the conflict. Under those crossed swords, in the restored harmony of domestic peace, lived a happy and contented and free family under the light of our Republican liberties. [Applause.] I trust the time is not far distant when under the crossed swords and the locked shields of Americans, North and South, our people shall sleep in peace and rise in liberty, love, and harmony under the union of one flag of the stars and stripes.” (Applause.)

After a short rest at his home, General Garfield forwarded to Senator Hoar, the chairman of the Chicago Convention, the following formal letter of acceptance of his nomination by that body for the Presidency of the United States:

“MENTOR, Ohio, July 10, 1880.

“DEAR SIR :—On the evening of the 8th of June last I had the honor to receive from you, in presence of the committee of which you were chairman, the official announcement that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had that day nominated me for their candidate for President of the United States. I accept the nomination with gratitude for the confidence it implies, and with a deep sense of the responsibilities it imposes. I cordially endorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the convention ; on nearly all of the subjects of which it treats my opinions are on record among the published proceedings of Congress. I venture, however, to make special mention of some of the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion without reviewing the controversies which have been settled during the last twenty years, and with no purpose or wish to revive the passions of the late war. It should be said that while Republicans fully recognize and will strenuously defend all the rights retained by the people and all the rights reserved to the States, they reject the pernicious doctrine of State supremacy, which so long crippled the functions of the National Government, and at one time brought the Union very near to destruction. They insist that the United States is a nation, with ample power of self-preservation ; that its constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land ; that the right of the nation to determine the method by which its own legislation shall be created, cannot be surrendered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of the Government ; that the national

laws relating to the election of representatives in Congress shall neither be violated or evaded; that every elector shall be permitted freely and without intimidation to cast his lawful ballot at such election, and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person.

“The best thoughts and energies of our people should be directed to those great questions of national well-being in which all have common interest. Such efforts will soonest restore perfect peace to those who were lately in arms against each other, for justice and good-will will outlast passion, but it is certain that the wounds cannot be completely healed and the spirit of brotherhood cannot fully pervade the whole country until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and unqualified enjoyment of every civil and political right guaranteed by the constitution and the laws. Wherever the enjoyment of this right is not assured, discontent will prevail, immigration will cease, and the social and industrial forces will continue to be disturbed by the migration of laborers and the consequent diminution of prosperity. The National Government should exercise all its constitutional authority to put an end to these evils, for all the people and all the States are members of one body, and no member can suffer without injury to all. The most serious evils which now afflict the South arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power. Without such restraint party rule becomes tyrannical and corrupt. The

prosperity which is made possible in the South by its great advantages of soil and climate, will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

“Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither justice nor freedom can be permanently maintained. Its interests are entrusted to the States, and the involuntary action of the people. Whatever help the nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools, but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the Church and the State in everything relating to taxation should be absolute. On the subject of national finances my views have been so frequently and fully expressed that little is needed in the way of additional statement. The public debt is now so well secured, and the rate of annual interest has been so reduced, by refunding that rigid economy in expenditures and the faithful application of our surplus revenues to the payment of the principal of the debt will gradually but certainly free the people from its burdens and close with honor the financial chapter of the war. At the same time the Government can provide for all its ordinary expenditures, and discharge its sacred obligations to the soldier of the Union and to the widows and orphans of those who fell in its defence.

“The resumption of specie payments, which the Republican party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many

questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the Government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as national as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin, but has brought into use our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before, and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value, from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments. In reference to our customs laws a policy should be pursued which will bring revenues to the Treasury, and will enable the labor and capital employed in our great industries to compete fairly in our own markets with the labor and capital of foreign producers. We legislate for the people of the United States, not for the whole world, and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country cannot be independent unless its people, with their abundant natural resources, possess the requisite skill at any time to clothe, arm, and equip themselves for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the government to provide for the common defence, not by standing armies alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the nation.

“Fortunately for the interests of commerce there is

no longer any formidable opposition to appropriations for the improvement of our harbors and great navigable rivers, provided that the expenditures for that purpose are strictly limited to works of national importance. The Mississippi River, with its great tributaries, is of such vital importance to so many millions of people that the safety of its navigation requires exceptional consideration. In order to secure to the nation the control of all its waters, President Jefferson negotiated the purchase of a vast territory extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. The wisdom of Congress should be invoked to devise some plan by which that great river shall cease to be a terror to those who dwell upon its banks, and by which its shipping may safely carry the industrial products of twenty-five millions of people. The interests of agriculture, which is the basis of all our material prosperity, and in which seven-twelfths of our population are engaged, as well as the interests of manufactures and commerce, demand that the facilities for cheap transportation shall be increased by the use of all our great water-courses. The material interests of this country, the traditions of its settlement and the sentiment of our people have led the Government to offer the widest hospitality to emigrants who seek our shores for new and happier homes, willing to share the burdens as well as the benefits of our society, and intending that their posterity shall become an undistinguishable part of our population.

“The recent movement of the Chinese to our Pacific Coast partakes but little of the qualities of such an emigration, either in its purposes or its result. It is too much like an importation to be welcomed without restric-

tion ; too much like an invasion to be looked upon without solicitude. We cannot consent to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. Recognizing the gravity of this subject, the present administration, supported by Congress, has sent to China a commission of distinguished citizens for the purpose of securing such a modification of the existing treaty as will prevent the evils likely to arise from the present situation. It is confidently believed that these diplomatic negotiations will be successful without the loss of commercial intercourse between the two great powers, which promises a great increase of reciprocal trade and the enlargement of our markets. Should these efforts fail, it will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt, and prevent their increase by such restrictions as, without violence or injustice, will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

“ The appointment of citizens to the various executive and judicial offices of the Government is, perhaps, the most difficult of all duties which the constitution has imposed upon the executive. The convention wisely demands that Congress shall co-operate with the executive departments in placing the civil service on a better basis. Experience has proved that, with our frequent changes of administration, no system of reform can be made effective and permanent without the aid of legislation. Appointments to the military and naval service are so regulated by law and custom as to leave but little ground of complaint. It may not be wise to make similar regulations by law for civil service, but without invading the authori-

ity or necessary discretion of the executive, Congress should devise a method that will determine the tenure of office, and greatly reduce the uncertainty which makes that service so uncertain and unsatisfactory. Without depriving any officer of his rights, as a citizen, the Government should require him to discharge all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency, and faithfulness.

“To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The executive should therefore seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice. The doctrines announced by the Chicago Convention are not the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election. They are deliberate convictions resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions, the events of our history, and the best impulses of our people. In my judgment, these principles should control the legislation and administration of the Government. In any event they will guide my conduct until experience points out a better way. If elected, it will be my purpose to enforce strict obedience to the constitution and the laws, and to promote as best I may the interest and honor of the whole country, relying for support upon the wisdom of Congress, the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and the favor of God.

“With great respect, I am, very truly yours,

“J. A. GARFIELD.”

“To Hon. George F. HOAR,

Chairman of the Committee.”

We have now traced the career of General Garfield from his birth to his formal acceptance of the nomination of his party for the Presidency. It is a grand career, and builds up a noble and powerful example to the young men of his country. Here we must leave him. That he will be triumphantly seated in the Presidential chair none who have read this narrative can doubt; and that his administration will be pure and grand is a certainty.

In person General Garfield is six feet high, broad-shouldered, and strongly built. He has an unusually large head, that seems to be three-fourths forehead, light brown hair and beard, large light blue eyes, a prominent nose and full cheeks. He dresses plainly, is fond of broad-brimmed slouch hats and stout boots, eats heartily, cares nothing for luxurious living, is thoroughly temperate in all respects save in that of brain-work, and is devoted to his wife and children, and very fond of his country home. Among men he is genial, approachable, companionable, and a remarkably entertaining talker.

General Garfield is the possessor of two homes, and his family migrates twice a year. On the corner of Thirteenth and I streets stands his Washington home. It is a very modest and unpretentious mansion of brick, plain and square built, after the manner of its distinguished owner and occupant. Above it, to the north, towers the palatial Franklin school building. On the west is that lovely stretch of rolling turf and shade and shrubbery known as Franklin Square. The residences in the immediate vicinity denote a respectable but by no means fashionable neighborhood. The house is square, with a wing on the east, comprising dining-room and

library. The parlor side-windows look out on the pleasing prospect of the park, while the front commands a corner view of I and Thirteenth streets.

Above all other places of interest in this house, however, is the library. Here is the working-ground of a man of energy and ideas; here the student and scholar lives and has being in the exclusion of the man; here the statesman and politician takes nourishment and flourishes. The room is about twenty-five by fourteen feet, three windows opening south on I street, one to the east. The pattern carpet leaves about three feet of stained floor about the margin. In the centre and under the heavy chandelier is a double walnut office-desk, with an addition of pigeon-holes and boxes and drawers on the end. There is an air of legal brusqueness everywhere, of orderly disorder, as if the owner cared less for general symmetry than for immediate convenience. Half a dozen bookcases occupy the available space against the walls, and two or three thousand books freight their shelves. No two of these cases are alike, of the same height, width or make. It is as if the accumulation had from time to time overflowed the limit of book-room and another case had been hastily procured in which to store the surplus, and then, when that was full, another was added, and so on. Books, books, books! It is the one striking feature of Mr. Garfield's home. They confront one in the hall upon entering, in the parlor and sitting-room and in the dining-room—yes, and even in the bath-room, where documents and speeches are corded up like firewood. I would not be at all surprised if a fair library could be discovered in the kitchen. Among all these books there

is not a trashy volume. They are law and history, biography, poetry, politics, philosophy, government, and standard works of all sorts, the accumulation of years of study and the patient research of the scholar. And these are but a portion of Mr. Garfield's collection, a considerable one being at his country home in Ohio.

Five or six years ago the little cottage at Hiram was sold, and for a time the only residence the Garfields had in his district was a summer house he built on Little Mountain, a bold elevation in Lake County, which commands a view of thirty miles of rich farming country stretched along the shore of Lake Erie. Three years ago he bought a farm in Mentor, in the same county, lying on both sides of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad. Here his family spend all the time when he is free from his duties at Washington. The farm contains about one hundred and twenty acres of excellent land, in a high state of cultivation, and the Congressman finds a recreation, of which he never tires, in directing the field-work and making improvements in the buildings, fences, and orchards. Cleveland is only twenty-five miles away; there is a post office and a railway station within half a mile, and the pretty country town of Painesville is but five miles distant. One of the pleasures of summer life on the Garfield farm is a drive of two miles through the woods to the lake shore and a bath in the breakers.

On this farm General Garfield has built him a new house, which attracts considerable attention and much curiosity from passers by on the Lake Shore Railroad. It cannot be called grand in any sense of the word, but

it will be a pleasant and very convenient country house, superior to the majority along this section of the Ridge road. It is generally of the Gothic style of architecture, but mingled with other styles, so as to form what contractors term a "mixture." A roomy porch extends along the front and part of the side toward Cleveland. Lattice work has been arranged in front for training vines. The house is sixty feet front by fifty deep and two stories and a half high. The apartments are all roomy for a country house, and the wide hallway attracts attention the first thing on entering. General Garfield has marked that section of the plan where the pantry is located, "Plenty of shelves and drawers," and in the rear part of the second floor of the diagram is written "Snuggery for the general." The last mentioned room is rather small, measuring only $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 14 feet. It is to be fitted up with book-shelves, but Garfield will still continue to use as his library the detached building erected a year or two since in the yard northeast of the house.

Two of the best apartments in the eastern and front part of the edifice are being especially fitted up for occupancy by Mrs. Garfield, the mother of the general. The front room has a large old-fashioned fireplace, and the pains taken to make everything comfortable here plainly show the tender feelings of the son for the aged mother. Dr. Robinson noticed the admiration of the writer for this room, and said: "The general thinks everything of his mother. You know he chopped a hundred cords of wood once for \$25, and took the money home to her."

There are few of the timbers of the old house (over which the new has been constructed) now visible, and probably there will be none in sight when the carpets are put down. The cost of the structure will be, when finished, between \$3,500 and \$4,000. This is remarkably slight, when the expense of bringing such workmen as were wanted so far away from the city is considered. The work has been hurried forward with rapidity, particularly within the last few weeks, as it was intended to get it as nearly finished as possible before the general's return from Washington previous to going to the Chicago Convention. Mrs. Garfield was really the architect of the house. A man in Cleveland drew a slight sketch, and Mrs. Garfield filled it out, the general marking in various directions with bold strokes of the pen. When the ideas of the wife had been put on paper the general wrote the following underneath, as a gentle hint to the builders :

"These plans must stand as above, unless otherwise ordered hereafter. If any part of them is impracticable, inform me soon and suggest change.

"J. A. GARFIELD."

"WASHINGTON, March 6, 1880."

The general has never been proud or "stuck up," the neighbors say, although they thought he might become so when he first moved among them. His wife they characterize as a "perfect lady," who, however, is not afraid of work.

General Garfield has five children living, and has lost two, who died in infancy. The two elder boys, Harry

and James, are now at school in New Hampshire. Mary, or Molly, as everybody calls her, is a handsome, rosy-cheeked girl of about twelve. The two younger boys are named Irwin and Abram. The general's mother is still living, and has long been a member of his family. She is an intelligent, energetic old lady, with a clear head and a strong will, who keeps well posted in the news of the day, and is very proud of her son's career, though more liberal of criticism than of praise.

General Garfield's district lies in the extreme northeastern corner of Ohio, and now embraces the counties of Ashtabula, Trumbull, Geauga, Lake, and Mahoning. His old home county of Portage was detached from it a year ago. With the exception of the coal and iron regions in the extreme southern part, the district is purely a rural one and is inhabited by a population of pure New England ancestry. It is claimed that there is less illiteracy in proportion to the population than in any other district in the United States.

CHAPTER XII.

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

The Presidential Election—Garfield Elected—Life at Mentor after the Election—Departure for Washington—The Inauguration—Brilliant Scenes—The new Cabinet—Divisions in the Republican Party—Nomination of Judge Robertson—Resignation of the New York Senators—The President endorsed by the Senate and People—Promise of a noble Administration—The Star Route Scandal—Illness of Mrs. Garfield—The proposed New England Tour—The President Shot—Scenes at the Depot—Removal to the White House—Heroic Courage of the President—A Brave Fight—Arrival of Mrs. Garfield—Anxiety of the People—Statements of Eye-Witnesses—Daily Progress of the President's Case—Hope at last—The Assassin—His Crime and its Motive—No Conspiracy—Details of the Arrest—Guiteau's Father and Brother denounce him.

THE Presidential Election of 1880 was held on the 2d of November, and the popular vote was as follows :

For James A. Garfield (Republican).....	4,437,345
For W. S. Hancock (Democrat).....	4,435,015
For J. B. Weaver (Greenback).....	305,931

General Garfield thus obtained a majority of 2,330 of the vote of the people. The electoral vote was as follows : for James A. Garfield, 214 ; for W. S. Hancock, 155 ; thus giving to General Garfield a majority of 59 votes in the Electoral College. These figures indicate unerringly that General Garfield was the choice of the majority of his countrymen. General

Hancock accepted his defeat manfully, and was among the first to heartily congratulate his successful competitor.

On the first Wednesday of December, 1880, the Electoral Colleges of the various States met and cast their votes, as provided by the Constitution. All the returns having been forwarded to the Vice-President of the United States, at Washington, the two Houses of Congress met in the Hall of the United States House of Representatives on the second Wednesday in February, 1881, for the purpose of counting the electoral vote. The certificates of the Electoral Colleges of the various States having been opened and read, the Vice-President announced that James A. Garfield had been duly elected President, and Chester A. Arthur Vice-President of the United States, for the term of four years from the 4th of March, 1881. The successful candidates were subsequently officially notified of their election.

After the November election, General Garfield remained quietly at his home at Mentor, receiving thousands of visitors from all shades of the Republican party. Once he made a visit to New York for the purpose of consulting with the leaders of his party. Great curiosity was manifested in all parts of the country to learn the names of the statesmen he had selected as members of his Cabinet; but the President elect maintained a dignified silence, reserving the announcement of the names of his constitutional advisers until after his entrance upon the duties of his office.

At length, on the 1st of March, General Garfield left Mentor for Washington to be inaugurated President of the United States. The whole route was a triumphal progress. At all the principal points he was received by enthusiastic crowds, and at several delivered brief but eloquent addresses. Washington was reached on the 2d of March, and the President elect met with a reception rarely given to persons even of his position.

On Friday, March 4th, the inauguration ceremonies took place upon a scale of unusual magnificence. Thousands of strangers crowded the city. Military and civic organizations had been arriving for days previously, and on the morning of the 4th of March, it was believed that at least 50,000 strangers were in the city.

Friday dawned bleak and stormy. Big flakes of snow went scattering through the chilling air. All the roofs and trees shed trickling streams of ice water. But between ten and eleven o'clock, although the high wind continued, the sun began to show itself through the clouds. All Washington was astir at an early hour, and men, women, and children hurried through the snow and slush from every direction, every one intent on reaching Pennsylvania avenue to witness the inaugural procession, or to the Capitol. About ten o'clock the escort of Federal troops was formed in front of the White House, and at half-past ten the procession started down Pennsylvania avenue for the Capitol. The in-coming and out-going Presidents rode in a four-horse barouche, with the gor-

geously uniformed First Cleveland troop mounted immediately in front.

The procession presented the most imposing spectacle witnessed in Washington since the grand review of troops seventeen years ago, when the victorious armies of the Republic returned North at the close of the war. At the head were two platoons of mounted police, and the grand marshal, General W. T. Sherman, and aids. The procession was divided into five divisions, which numbered fully 15,000 men. The first division, under command of Major-General R. B. Ayres, United States Army, consisted of twelve companies of regular artillery, four companies of marines, a battalion of Cleveland troops, cavalry; President and party in carriages; Philadelphia troops, cavalry; Knights Templars, four platoons; Grand Army of the Republic, eight platoons; Boys in Blue, eight platoons; Naval Cadets; two horse batteries of regulars; battalion Washington light infantry, four companies; Colonel Moore, Company A, fifth battalion; Second California brigade; Hampton Cadets, Virginia; Langston Guards, Norfolk, Va.; Union Blues, Thomasville, Ga.; Rome Star Guards, Ga.; National Rifles (Washington), Captain Burnside; Signal Corps, United States Army; and the Ninth Regiment, of New York.

The second division, commanded by Major-General John F. Hartranft, was composed of five brigades of Pennsylvania militia.

The third division, commanded by Major-General Thomas C. Fletcher, consisted of the Grand Army of the Republic, Boys in Blue, and militia from New

York, District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and veterans from the District of Columbia and Pittsburg. The Governor of Connecticut and staff were in this division.

The fourth division, under the command of Major-General Charles H. Field, was composed of militia from Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida.

• The fifth division, under the command of Colonel Robert Boyd, was composed exclusively of civic societies.

Along the route of the procession, from stands erected at intervals, thousands upon thousands of people gazed upon the passing pageant. The streets through which it moved were lined with people. Pennsylvania Avenue presented a grand sight. Every window had its occupants, and every house was bright with the joyous costumes of fair women and beautiful children, who waved handkerchiefs, the national colors, and white hands, as the man, who is to preside over the destinies of the nation for the next four years, passed by. All available space was occupied. Even the roofs of many houses, which had been covered with benches, chairs, etc., were thronged with people. The long eastern portico of the Treasury building was filled with ladies and gentlemen, and a stand erected at the south end of the building was occupied by at least 3,000 clerks of the department. In the two squares between Thirteenth and Fourteenth

streets were two stands occupied by the employés of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, and of the Interior Departments, the former numbering about 600, and the latter over 2,500.

There were arches at the intersection of the cross streets with Pennsylvania Avenue, and on Fifteenth street, between the Treasury Department and the Corcoran building, was a great triumphal arch, which presented a beautiful appearance. It was Gothic in design, and one end was surmounted by a tower with four minarets, from which floated red and blue pennants. On the other end was a flag-staff, with a blue-and-white banner waving therefrom, and four lines of small flags, extending from the topmost point of the pole to the arch below. The entire structure was painted to imitate brown stone, and the columns and ornaments Nova Scotia stone. Thirty-eight windows in the arch and towers were painted in imitation of stained glass. In the centre of each was a red, white and blue shield, on which was the name of a State. Eight similar windows were marked with the names of the eight Territories. Across the top of the arch were two rows of cavalry and infantry guidons.

The Senate reassembled at ten o'clock. The floor was covered with chairs before, between and behind the rows of desks. At half-past ten Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. Garfield, and young Mrs. Garfield, accompanied by junior members of the Hayes and Garfield families, entered the south gallery. Mrs. Hayes and Mrs. Garfield carried bouquets. At the same time the doors

of all the galleries theretofore closed were opened, and the galleries were quickly filled with the families of Congressmen, heads of departments, diplomats, and officers of the army and navy. All the ladies wore handsome toilets. The scene was a brilliant one.

A few minutes before eleven, General Hancock, accompanied by General Mitchell, entered with Senator Blaine. As he walked across the Senate the galleries burst into loud applause. Senator Conkling was the first to greet him. They shook hands warmly. Senator Thurman grasped his hand next. The whole Senate followed suit. After he had shaken hands with all, he was conducted to a seat on the left amid renewed applause.

Then came successively Chief-Justice Carter and the rest of the Supreme Court of the District; Judges Hunt, Bancroft, Davis and others of the Court of Claims; Secretary of State Evarts; Governor Bigelow of Connecticut; ex-Attorney-General Williams, General Phil Sheridan, and others. At twenty minutes to eleven the Senate received the House resolution asking for the appointment of a Senator on the committee to wait, with members appointed on the part of the House, on the President and tell him that Congress had finished its business and was ready to adjourn.

At eleven o'clock the President and President-elect, each accompanied by a member of the Committee of Arrangements, arrived and proceeded to the President's room. Vice-President-elect Arthur, accompanied by a member of the Committee of Arrangements, proceeded

to the Vice-President's room. The Diplomatic Corps assembled in the marble room and entered the Senate Chamber in a body at fifteen minutes past eleven. All were in full court dress. The Japanese and Chinese legations attracted much attention. The corps was headed by its dean, Sir Edward Thornton, and Secretary Evarts. At half-past eleven Chief Justice Waite and the Justices of the Supreme Court, accompanied by ex-Justices Strong and Swayne, and preceded by their clerk, appeared in the Senate and took the seats provided for them.

The Presidential procession, headed by President Hayes and President-elect Garfield, finally entered, under escort of Senators Pendleton, Anthony, Bayard, and others, of the Committee of Arrangements, and two minutes later was followed by Vice-President-elect Arthur, in charge of a committee composed of the above-named Senators, all present in the chamber rising upon each occasion. Mr. Wheeler introduced the Vice-President-elect, who addressed to the Senate a few well-chosen words, and then turned to Mr. Wheeler and raised his right hand. The outgoing Vice-President administered the oath of office to his successor, and immediately afterwards bade farewell to the Senate in a brief address. The new Senate was then organized; after which the Senate, House, and guests proceeded to the east front of the capitol. The scene presented at the platform was impressive in the extreme. The crush of spectators filled the large platform, which was about one hundred yards wide, and extending out on each side past the two

wings of the building. The crowd was so closely wedged together that the scene from above presented a solid mass. Directly in front of the platform were spectators who had stood patiently there in the cold and wet for four hours. Behind were massed the military. The cold northeast wind had softened, and the sombre sky had given way to the bright sunlight. The change was auspicious.

In the first row of a temporary platform sat four Ohio men—Chief-Justice Waite, in his gorgeous gown of silk; James A. Garfield, full-bearded, big-eyed and with folded arms; Rutherford B. Hayes, looking wearied; and old Senator Pendleton. Behind them sat Mrs. Hayes, her jet-black hair silvered here and there with white. She wore a round, white, fluffy sort of turban, with flowing feathers, and a seal-skin sacque or ulster, and a black silk dress. Next her sat Aunt Eliza, as Mr. Garfield calls his mother, a very aged lady with snow-white hair. She seems feeble, and her skin is furrowed and full of wrinkles. She wore a black silk bonnet and a black silk robe of some kind. She looked warm and comfortable, and her eyes rested fondly on her son, and her cheeks flushed perceptibly when later on his manly utterances were cheered to the echo. The wife of the President-elect sat next his mother, and beyond her stood their children, Vice-President Arthur, Speaker Randall, General Swaim, and others. Back of them were Secretary Evarts—large hat and slender figure—the round Derby hat and tall person of Roscoe Conkling, the Supreme Court Judges, the Senators and Representatives.

General Garfield read his inaugural slowly and effectively, and was frequently applauded. When he had concluded, he turned to Chief-Justice Waite and said, "I am now prepared to take the oath."

The Chief-Justice was attended by Mr. McKinney, Clerk of the Supreme Court, carrying a Bible (Sabbath-school edition). Rising, he tendered the book to the President-elect, and administered the customary oath. General Garfield kissed the page, bowed to the Chief-Justice, and then reverently kissed his mother and his wife, after which he received the congratulations of his friends.

The ceremony being over, the President and Mr. Hayes were escorted to the barouches, and the grand procession down the avenue to the White House began to move. Upon his arrival there, President Garfield took a seat upon the grand stand, in company with Mr. Hayes, and the procession passed in review before him. Two hours later, the President and his family entered the White House.

Immediately after his inauguration President Garfield sent to the Senate, which had been convoked in extra session by President Hayes, the names of the members of his Cabinet. They were promptly confirmed. They were as follows :

Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine.

Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota.

Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois.

Secretary of the Navy, W. H. Hunt, of Louisiana.

Secretary of the Interior, S. J. Kirkwood, of Iowa.

Attorney-General, Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania.

Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York.

Very soon after entering upon his duties, President Garfield found that the executive chair was by no means a bed of roses. The Republican party soon divided into two sections, one supporting the President, and the other, known as the "Stalwarts," opposing him. A bitter partisan contest set in, and prolonged the executive session of the Senate to a very late day. The quarrel was fiercest over the appointment of a new Collector for the port of New York, and culminated in the resignation of Senators Conkling and Platt, of that State. The resignation was based upon the ground that the President had nominated the Collector for the port of New York without consulting or yielding to the wishes of the Senators from that State, the said Senators in effect claiming the right to dictate what appointments should or should not be made in that State. The President, however, having with him the support of the great mass of the nation, without regard to party, pursued with unshaken firmness the course he had determined upon. After the resignation of Senators Conkling and Platt, the nomination of Mr. Robertson was confirmed by the Senate, the highest legislative body in the Union thus uniting with the majority of the citizens of the country in approving the course of the President.

As the time wore on, President Garfield gained steadily in the esteem of the people. His purpose to give to the country a fair and just administration of the Government became every day more apparent, and his high and noble qualities became each day more conspicuous. People began to feel for the first time in

many years that the Executive Chair was occupied by a man capable of conceiving a pure and noble standard of duty, and possessed of the firmness and strength of will necessary to carrying it out. The country was prosperous, and there was every reason to expect a continuance of the general happiness.

Soon after the opening of President Garfield's administration, the Postmaster-General discovered that certain contracts for carrying the mails on what are known as "the Star Routes" were fraudulent, and the persons interested in them were robbing the government of immense sums of money. The President, Postmaster-General, and Attorney-General, sustained by the other members of the Cabinet, resolved to bring the criminals to justice. The latter, being men of wealth and position, bitterly resented the course of the government, and violently denounced it. Nevertheless the President firmly pursued what he deemed his duty, and the criminals were only prevented from being brought to speedy trial and conviction by the close of the term of the court.

During the late spring and early summer the President suffered a severe affliction in the serious illness of his wife from malarial fever, which came near resulting fatally. The White House is situated in the most unhealthy section of Washington City, and its inmates are every summer forced to retreat to a purer atmosphere. As soon as Mrs. Garfield was able to be moved, she was taken to Long Branch, where she speedily recovered.

On the morning of the 2d of July, the President,

with a considerable party, including several members of the Cabinet and ladies, started on a visit to New England. During the trip the President intended to be present at the commencement exercises of his *alma mater*, Williams College, in Massachusetts. The party arrived at the Baltimore and Potomac depot in Washington in advance of the President, who reached the depot shortly after with Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, who came simply to see him off and say good-bye. In passing through the waiting-room at the station the President was fired at twice, and fell terribly wounded. The correspondent of the *Philadelphia Times* thus describes the tragedy :

About twenty minutes after nine o'clock this morning the people on Pennsylvania avenue were startled by the sight of a team of powerful horses driven at full speed toward the White House. The first impression was that it was a runaway, but as the team swept by, the fact that it was a War Department covered wagon and the driver, of grim and soldierly bearing, sat urging his horses to a still higher speed, was a puzzle to everybody. The avenue was thronged with vehicles, and the soldier driver thundering along on the dead run waved them aside, while the people on the walks closed rapidly in behind with muttered comment and looks of astonishment. The impression prevailed that the driver was drunk, but those who saw the man's grim look knew that he was on some great purpose.

"You are wrong," said my companion to one of

these cursing commentators. "Something great has happened or is going to happen."

The words were scarcely out of his mouth before the President's empty carriage, with the driver on the box, came bowling along at the same break-neck pace, the driver urging his animals with the whip. The bewildered crowd, who had just rushed into the street to strain their eyes and shake their fists after the rapidly-vanishing wagon, now scattered pell-mell right and left to give way to this second apparition. While the populace gathered at the curb and vehicles stood stationary on the safe side, still another carriage, containing an attache of the White House, whirled by at a rapid pace, preceded by a mounted policeman at full gallop. Then everybody knew something had happened, and that this something was to the President of the United States or some one of the Presidential party. It was generally known that they were to leave the city by the morning train, and but a few minutes before the executive carriage and others containing the members of the party had passed down the avenue.

Little time elapsed in which to indulge in speculation. It could not have been more than five minutes when the intelligence spread that President Garfield had been assassinated. No one could trace the source of this rumor. It came in subdued whispers. It seemed to come from everywhere and spread with the morning breeze. Proprietors and clerks rushed from their stores and offices, and men, women and children quickly gathered on the walks and thronged the corners in excited groups. Then the President's carriage came tear-

ing down the asphaltum again toward the depot. In it sat Colonel Corbin of the War Department and Surgeon-General Barnes. This confirmed the stories on the street. Then Dr. Bliss' carriage went by, and by this time everybody knew the President of the United States, for the second time in the history of the country, had been assassinated. This was within ten minutes of the occurrence.

The excitement was intense. There were no loud voices, but everybody ran hither and thither without method. Men forgot hat and coat, and ran into streets and wandered about, apparently anxious only to be near somebody else, but shocked and bewildered with the startling rumors beyond concerted action. About this time a disorderly character was run in at the Tenth district station house, and evidently under the impression that this might be the assassin of the President, a half-frantic mob rushed in from all sides, then fell rapidly away again, disappointed. As soon as the public had fairly recovered its senses, there was a general move for the scene of the tragedy, the Baltimore and Potomac depot.

The shooting occurred at 9.20, in the Baltimore and Potomac depot. The assassin was Charles Guiteau. The story is full of exciting interest.

Mr. Garfield arose this morning at about half-past seven, and took his breakfast at eight with his oldest son. At about nine Mr. Blaine called, and a few minutes after the President's carriage was announced. The President and Secretary Blaine took seats in the carriage, and were driven down the avenue. It was

about the first time that the President's new horses and carriage had been out. They were driven by Smith, the colored man who has for twelve years been the White House coachman. There was no footman on the box, but the equipage was very showy, and attracted general admiration. At about a quarter past nine the carriage arrived at the Baltimore and Potomac station. It had been arranged that the President and several members of his official household should leave on the limited express at half-past nine. The President's party was to go first to Long Branch, and thence through New England.

When the President and Mr. Blaine arrived at the station, they were told that they had ten minutes before the train would go, and so the two friends sat in the carriage and conversed together for about five minutes. Warned by an attending policeman that little time was left, they got out of the carriage and entered the ladies' room of the station, and arm-in-arm walked into the main room through which they had to pass to get to the train. Mr. Garfield expressed his regret that Mr. Blaine was not going with him, and the latter replied that they would soon meet in Augusta.

There was not a large crowd at the station. Perhaps half a hundred had gone to the station from instinct of curiosity, for it was known the President and certain members of the Cabinet would leave on the limited express. A few newspaper reporters were on hand, and a score or more of personal friends, who, like Mr. Blaine, had come to bid the President and

his party good-bye. Secretary Windom, Postmaster-General James and Secretary Hunt had arrived before the President. They were accompanied by their wives and other members of their families. Colonel Rockwell, who acts as a sort of personal aide to the President, was also in advance of his chief, accompanied by his son, Don Rockwell, and by the President's son Harry.

The President and Mr. Blaine had traversed half of the main hall of the station, when Guiteau walked out deliberately with a cocked revolver. He gave no warning, and said not a word, but presenting his pistol fired at the President's heart. Whether on account of defective aim, or because the President was in motion, is not known, but the shot, instead of going into the President's heart, went into the upper part of his arm, making a harmless wound. The assassin, with the same devilish deliberation, next tried to shoot the President in the stomach, but the first shot caused the President to turn slightly, and the second fire, only an instant after the first, struck him in the side or back, near the back-bone. At this the President fell heavily. Mr. Blaine, almost paralyzed by the sudden event, hesitated a moment between succoring his friend and securing the assassin. He called loudly for help, and the assassin was secured.

The horrible occurrence caused the crowd to fall back at first in terror, but the waiting-woman of the station at once went to the stricken man's assistance. Few realized what had occurred. Two shots had been heard, but no unusual noise had preceded or

followed the event. But the sad news spread rapidly.

The President lay helpless on the floor, the blood flowing from both his wounds most copiously. Some minutes elapsed before those present regained their senses. Nobody seemed to know what to do. Mr. Windom, Mr. James, and Mr. Hunt came in and viewed the prostrate figure. Mr. Windom shed tears and could not control his emotion. Mr. James was more practical. He and Mr. Blaine soon secured a mattress, and not long afterwards the wounded President was taken up-stairs and placed upon a bed.

The scene at the bedside was most affecting. The President lay upon his back, his wounds bleeding profusely. His coat, vest and trousers had been cut away, and the half-dozen surgeons, who by this time had arrived, pronounced the injury of the most serious character. The sudden shock had affected the President's stomach, and he vomited quite freely. He did not, however, lose consciousness. About his bed were gathered his Cabinet, and some of his best friends. He said nothing, but he recognized every one with his eye. At one time he put his arm around Blaine, and said: "You know how I love you, Blaine."

The President's grief-stricken son, Harry, stood by the side of the bed, holding his father's hand, and crying as though his heart would break, and calling aloud: "My poor father! my poor father!" There were few present who did not weep.

Before long the surgeons decided that the President could be removed to his home. An army ambulance

was at hand, and four stalwart figures bore the bleeding President from the station and placed him in the covered vehicle. Two or three trusted friends attended him in the ambulance, and five thousand sympathizing friends—men, women, children of all ages, black and white—followed the ambulance on the run until it reached the White House. The wagon was driven to the south entrance, and as the President was lifted out he recognized Mr. Crook, his financial clerk, and Mr. Pruden, his private secretary, in an upper window, and, smiling, saluted them with his uninjured arm. He was taken to his wife's chamber, overlooking the Potomac, and disrobed. He complained of fatigue and was allowed to rest. Two attempts were made to find the ball—one at the station and one at the White House—but without result.

George W. Adams, one of the proprietors of the *Evening Star*, of Washington, was at the depot when the shooting occurred. He says that the President had just alighted from his carriage to take the cars for the North. Secretary Hunt and Mrs. Hunt, Secretary Windom and Mrs. Windom, Postmaster-General James and the rest of the party had taken their seats in the car; Colonel Jamieson, of the Post-Office Department, who was to have charge of the transportation of the party, was standing at the gate leading to the cars. He heard a shot, quickly followed by another. There was a rush to the ladies' room, from whence the sounds came. President Garfield was found lying on the floor, having fallen to the left. Secretary Blaine came out of the room, following a man and calling: "Rock-

well! where is Rockwell?" The man was seized by officers Kearney and Parks, the depot policemen. The President was taken up-stairs. Dr. Bliss arrived soon afterwards. It was soon discovered that both shots had taken effect. One struck him in the right arm, below the shoulder; the other went in at the right side of the back, between the hip and kidney. It then passed forward and went down into the groin. It was probed for, but could not be found. The shooting occurred when the President and Secretary Blaine were walking arm-in-arm through the ladies' room. Secretary Blaine was not going with the party, but came down to bid the President good-bye. He said: "The President and I were walking arm-in-arm towards the train; I heard two shots, and saw a man run; I started after him, but saw that he was grabbed. As he got out of the room I came to the President, and found him lying on the floor. The floor was covered with the President's blood. A number of people who were around shortly afterwards had some of that blood on their persons. I think I know the man; I think his name is Guiteau. When arrested he said: 'I did it, and want to be arrested; I am a Stalwart, and Arthur is President now; I have a letter here that I want you to give to General Sherman; it will explain everything; take me to the police station.'"

When Guiteau had fired his second shot and made for the B-street entrance of the depot, where hack 195 waited, he found his plan of escape wouldn't work. Depot Policeman Parks sprang between him and the exit, and the assassin then turned the other way.

Here he was confronted by Officer Kearney, and both officers seized him at once. As they dragged him through the crowd he flourished a sealed letter in one hand and shouted in a highly dramatic manner: "Arthur is President of the United States now. I am a Stalwart. This letter will tell you everything. I want you to take it to General Sherman."

He was deprived of his pistol on arrest. It is an ugly-looking weapon, of what is known as the five-barrelled British bull-dog pattern, of 44 calibre, with a white bone handle, and had three loads undischarged. He did not throw it away, but flourished it in his hand when he ran, everybody about the waiting-room dodging from in front of it without regard to appearances.

When the wounded President reached the Executive Mansion he was taken to his chamber and made as comfortable as possible. Immense crowds surrounded the grounds, but were not allowed inside. The following physicians were called in: Doctors Bliss, Ford, Huntingdon, Woodward, U. S. A., Townsend, Lincoln, Reyburn, Norris, Purvis, Patterson, Surgeon-General Barnes and Surgeon-General Wales. The President was conscious and did not complain of suffering. He dictated the following telegram to his wife:

MRS. GARFIELD, Elberon, Long Branch:

The President wishes me to say to you from him that he has been seriously hurt. How seriously he cannot yet say. He is himself and hopes you will come to him soon. He sends his love to you. A. F. ROCKWELL.

Meanwhile there was the greatest anxiety as to the President's condition throughout the city. Immediately after the shooting his pulse went down to 53, and his

face, as he was moved to the White House, was of an ashen hue. His pulse recovered to 63 and the color returned somewhat to his face when taken to his room. Several attempts were made to probe for the balls during the early part of the afternoon, but they were unsuccessful.

As the afternoon wore on the President's symptoms grew worse, and it was telegraphed all over the world that there was but very slight ground for hope. The President conversed freely with those about him, and was very anxious for the arrival of his wife. She left Long Branch shortly before one o'clock on a special train placed at her disposal by the Pennsylvania Railroad. The distance is about 200 miles, and she reached Washington in less than six hours. From Gray's Ferry to Bay View, a distance of 96 miles, the train traveled in 100 minutes. What a journey that was to one sorrowing, grief-stricken woman! She was accompanied by a special agent of the railroad and members of her own family. From Long Branch to Philadelphia the distance was made with but a single stop. She was shown no despatches at Philadelphia. Members of the party, with trembling hands, received a despatch saying the President's condition was encouraging, yet what hope could be given her where all was uncertainty even to the President's physicians? Mrs. Garfield arrived at about half-past six. The President was conversing with Secretary Hunt and others around his bedside, and his quickened ear caught the sound of the carriage wheels below. "That is she," he said, turning his face with a glad smile toward his watchers,

and so it was. Attorney-General MacVeagh assisted Mrs. Garfield to alight and conducted her up-stairs to her husband. She was weeping. Her eyes were red and swollen, but she bore herself with much fortitude. "She's a plucky little woman," said the President, when he was questioned as to the propriety of her being shown to his bedside, and so she proved herself. She took off her things as she went up, and going to the bedside spoke cheerfully and hopefully of his recovery. Dr. Bliss had said: "You have one chance of recovery." "I embrace that chance," replied the President.

A large crowd assembled outside the grounds early in the day, and throngs of excited and anxious people paraded up and down all the afternoon, catching greedily at every rumor that came from within the gates. The crowd was greatly augmented at night, and the anxiety increased with each report of his condition. Up in the White House offices assembled a large body of special correspondents, some about the doors of the private secretary, in whispering groups near the great windows, and writing out their notes at various official desks. Reports of the situation came out every minute or two, and were greatly conflicting. The most hopeful took their cue from Dr. Bliss, who appeared to be the most sanguine of those in attendance. He thought the President improving. A number of prominent Washington ladies and the ladies of various high official households sat in the ante-rooms below stairs waiting to hear various bulletins as they came from the wounded President's chamber. Of all these people watching and waiting, not one was as cheerful and self-

possessed as the wounded President. He bore his suffering without a murmur, had a word and a smile for every man who entered and a joke for the ladies. Mrs. Garfield sat at his bedside, "as lively as a cricket," as Mr. Blaine put it. In the library was a remarkable group. Around the colored-globed lamp on the round table sat Mr. Blaine, dictating despatches. On the opposite side was the Postmaster-General, who, with Robert Lincoln, enjoyed their cigar while waiting for returns from the sick-room. Secretary Windom could be seen through the open folding-doors, pacing slowly and meditatively up and down the corridor. Attorney-General MacVeagh, the smallest figure in the group, stood looking on with hands folded behind his back. There was Mrs. Hunt on a sofa on one side, talking in whispers to Mrs. James, while on the opposite side, over against the wall, sat the Secretary of the Navy alone with his cigar. Young Harry Garfield stood looking into the lamp without a word. It was a group for an artist; and all the while all eyes sought the open door of the wounded President's chamber. All remained until a late hour, and retired with a more hopeful feeling.

At seven o'clock Secretary Blaine telegraphed to Vice-President Arthur, in New York, that the President had recognized his wife and had conversed with her, but most of his physicians thought he was sinking rapidly. At 7.40 there was a change. The President's voice was strong, and he talked freely with those around him. This was regarded as a change for the better, and the bulletin when posted caused intense satisfaction, for the sympathies of the people were wholly with the wounded

President. At 8.30, however, came the news that "the President is again sinking, and there is little if any hope;" and the hopes of the people fell.

There was another gleam of hope a few minutes later. It was announced that the President was sleeping pleasantly and was more comfortable. Pulse, 128; temperature, 99.1, slightly above normal; respiration, 22 and more regular.

At 9.20 the President, it was given out, had rallied a little within the past three-quarters of an hour, and his symptoms were a little more favorable. He continued brave and cheerful. About the time he began to rally, he said to Dr. Bliss:

"Doctor, what are the indications?"

Dr. Bliss replied: "There is a chance of recovery."

"Well, then," replied the President cheerfully, "we will take that chance."

At 10.20 the President's symptoms continued to grow more favorable, and to afford more ground for hope. His temperature was then normal; his pulse had fallen four beats since the last official bulletin, and the absence of blood in the discharges from the bladder showed that that organ was not injured, as had been feared.

Mrs. Garfield, although still weak from her recent illness, and shocked by the suddenness of the grief which has come to her, has behaved since her arrival with a courage and self-control equal to those of her husband. Not only has she not given way to the terror and grief which she necessarily feels, but she has been constantly by the President's side, encour-

aging him with her presence and sympathy, and giving efficient aid, so far as it has been in her power, to the attending physicians. Shortly after ten o'clock Secretary Blaine cabled the foreign Ministers that at that hour the President's condition had improved. In the judgment of all the attending physicians the change was marked and hopeful.

So passed the first night after the shooting.

Writing the next evening, the same correspondent says:

"This waiting crowd before the White House gates is representative of all the people one meets on the streets. Men ask each other for the news. Strangers, who have never seen each other before, stop and talk about the crime and its probable consequences. There is not so much noise as in other cities. There is not so much blustering about making onslaughts and furnishing twenty thousand men to sack Washington; but there is a deeper feeling, a feeling more akin to horror, than the Federal capital has experienced since the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. The President himself is full of splendid courage. His nerve is remarkable, and has done much to sustain him. His grasp is as strong as ever. His eyes are bright, and he talks to those about him cheerfully. Sometimes he contrives to joke with the doctors, but he realizes very clearly the straits that he is in. He said to Secretary Blaine to-day: 'I know well enough there is now some hope, but I want you to tell me frankly when there is no hope. I can stand it. Tell me frankly, for I may not be able to trust my own judgment.' Last evening

he had given up hope, but he was cheerful, nevertheless, even when he told his boy that he probably should not live. There is no thought of giving up so long as the end can be fought off, and the physicians have a remarkably strong hope in the grit and determination of their patient. They have telegraphed to Drs. Frank H. Hamilton, of New York, and D. Hayes Agnew, of Philadelphia, to join them in their consultations."

At this hour, ten o'clock P. M., there are many visitors at the White House—members of the Cabinet, Vice-President Arthur, General Sherman, several Senators, high officials of the government, and intimate friends of the President and family. They are sitting in the room of Private Secretary Brown, and in the Cabinet room. Most of the rooms of the President's suite are not open. There is every effort to have quiet throughout the Executive Mansion. Although there is not nearly so much bustle and excitement as last night, yet there is a good deal of going and coming. Whether there is reason for it or not, there is an increasing feeling of apprehension. Members of the Cabinet are less cheerful than they were during the day. Secretary Blaine looks much broken. He is grief-stricken, and weighed down with dread of the worst. Vice-President Arthur was visibly agitated when he entered the White House to-night. He was informed by Secretary Blaine that Mrs. Garfield was desirous of seeing him. He was received by her with marked consideration. His expressions of heartfelt sorrow were affecting and impressive in the extreme. At a late

hour to-night there are large crowds upon the streets. About a thousand people are in front of the White House grounds. There are many more people out than at this hour last night. There is much less cheerfulness, and an increasing fear of fatal results. This is caused chiefly from the fact that the President does not improve rapidly, but is remaining in much the same condition as some time ago.

The 4th of July dawned-gloomily at the White House. It was a night of suspense and agony there which preceded the dawning of the nation's anniversary. It seemed as though the shadow of death had settled there, and that death itself might come before morning. As the sun went down on the peaceful Sunday evening, there was hope that the President's favorable symptoms might become certain symptoms for recovery; but suddenly—almost as suddenly as the shot which pierced him—there was a change, and it was an unfavorable one. The pulse was accelerated by a fever which would have burned his life away if not reduced. Those ominous prickly sensations in the feet and legs, characterized by the President himself as "tiger clawing," showed that the nerves were protesting at some great injury done to one of the largest of them, or to their centre, the spinal cord. It was a grave, critical time. The silent physicians, as they bent over the bedside testing the pulse, the respiration, and the temperature of the blood, knew that just now medical skill was of no avail. Restoration from relapse was to be the work of nature alone.

The President, his mental faculties undisturbed by

the great shock, by the terrible track of a bullet and its irritating presence in his vital organs, with a calmness that was heroic, expressed his own opinion of his coming fate. That was the first time he had confessed death since he had remarked at the depot that the wound was fatal. Nature did what was hoped it would do, though for three hours or more nature struggled terribly with death. At length death was vanquished; but for how long? Would there be another struggle, when nature, taxed beyond the power of resistance, would succumb? The physicians, as they silently moved from the sick-chamber to the adjoining darkened room where sat the Cabinet, strangely mute, expressed this idea to them. It was needless for the Cabinet to inquire. They glanced up with imploring look, and their glance asked the question more eagerly than words could ever do. Not more painful than the pale face of the President was the sorrow-stricken look of these men who but a day or two ago were gathered with the President around the Cabinet table.

Secretary Blaine had aged in a night and a day from a man in his prime to a tottering, feeble old man. The quick step, the active, springy movement which used to characterize the Secretary of State, was gone, and when he came from the chamber it seemed as though he must have support or he would fall. He waited only for the arrival of General Arthur, who had been sent for, intending after having seen the Vice-President, to retire. Exhausted nature was warning him, and so his physician told him, that the strain must be relaxed, or the consequences might be severe

to him. There was the Postmaster-General, who had not even removed his clothing, sitting by one of the windows, silent as one in the presence of death. There was the venerable Secretary of the Interior, pacing slowly back and forth, now in the light of the moon, as it streamed in the open window, and now in the darkness of the shadows. There was the Attorney-General, seemingly the most calm and self-possessed of all, conversing in whispers with the Secretary of the Treasury at infrequent intervals. The Secretary of War, now passing through a second experience of this kind, stepped in for a moment, asking a single question, and then retiring with silent tread.

Thus were the Cabinet in that outer room, waiting for any announcement. They hoped, but they feared. It was as still as death. The breeze that came up from the Potomac rustled the window draperies, but that was all the noise there was. At intervals of a few minutes some one appears from the sick-chamber. Sometimes a simple shake of the head would indicate no change—at least, no change for the better. Sometimes the question would be asked: “How is he now, doctor?” and the reply would be: “No change,” or, “About the same.” This meant that his pulse was running still at 120 or thereabouts.

Vice-President Arthur came a little before ten. The first person to meet him as he entered the room where the Cabinet was, was the Secretary of State. The Vice-President took the proffered hand in both of his, and said:

“How is the President?”

“No better, I fear,” replied the Secretary, “and I am very glad you have come.”

The Vice-President conversed for a few moments. He then requested to see Mrs. Garfield, and when he took her hand the Vice-President was weeping. He clasped both her hands in his, and, almost overcome with emotion, expressed in beautiful sentiments his sympathy for her.

There were no dry eyes in the room at this meeting. “It was,” said the Postmaster-General, “one of the most touching and affecting sights.” The interview was brief, Mrs. Garfield inquiring after the health of the Vice-President, and expressing her own firm conviction that in the providence of God her husband would be spared. After that General Arthur conversed with the Cabinet for a while, and then withdrew. Only the briefest conversation passed respecting any official act. Secretary Blaine said that it was the opinion of the Cabinet that in case of the death of the President, at whatever hour, General Arthur ought to take the oath. General Arthur replied: “I shall be ready to fulfil the obligations imposed upon me by the Constitution if they should unhappily arise, and await the advice and notification of the Cabinet.”

The hours of evening waned, and there was no improvement in the condition of the President; every symptom was watched, every movement observed. Constant records of the pulse were taken. At one o'clock the physicians discovered symptoms of tympanitis, or bloating of the abdomen—a symptom dreaded

but expected—a symptom which is the advanced sign of coming peritonitis, and peritonitis precedes either mortification or erysipelas, which are advance agents of death. The only hope was that the symptoms might disappear. Slight as this hope was it was made the most of by Secretary Hunt, who expressed the opinion that if the President kept alive until ten o'clock to-day he would recover. But Colonel Ingersoll, with tears streaming down his cheeks, took the hand of Secretary Blaine, saying:

“My dear Blaine, his death is only a matter of time.”

“God help the country!” quick as a flash said the Secretary, in his familiar, nervous and impressive manner, looking at Ingersoll.

“Oh, no; you must not think it is so bad as that.”

The Secretary of State then went away, being almost driven from the house by the physicians, who warned him that he must take needed rest.

Mrs. Blaine remained at the bedside of the President much of the time. She sat with her hand in his, and the President would catch short naps.

The President at times seemed desirous of talking, but he was not permitted to do so. Mrs. Blaine herself cautioned him against speaking. She told him that rest was necessary, and Dr. Bliss reminded him that he must not waste his strength even by conversing. At two o'clock the physicians said that whatever happened the President would not die before morning. Then the wearied members of the Cabinet went to their homes to sleep the sleep of exhaustion. They left word

to be called, however, in case of the immediate prospect of death. The White House was now deserted, except by those who were to remain through the night.

Dr. Agnew arrived from Philadelphia in an early train, and reached the Executive Mansion about five this morning. He spent the time from that hour until the arrival of Dr. Hamilton, of New York, who reached here at seven, in familiarizing himself with the progress of the case as shown by the official bulletins. Upon the arrival of Dr. Hamilton, at about seven o'clock, an examination and consultation by all the attending physicians was at once commenced. It was immediately after this consultation that the first bulletin of the morning was issued. It was as follows :

WASHINGTON, July 4—8.15 A. M.

The condition of the President is not materially different from that reported in the last bulletin (12.10 A. M.) He has dozed at intervals during the night, and at times has continued to complain of the pain in his feet. The tympanitis reported has not sensibly increased. Pulse, 108; temperature, 99.4; respiration, 19.

D. W. BLISS,

J. K. BARNES,

J. J. WOODWARD,

ROBERT REYBURN,

F. H. HAMILTON, N. Y.

D. H. AGNEW, Phila.

We held a consultation with the physicians in charge of the President's case at seven A. M., and approve in every particular of the management and of the course of treatment which has been pursued.

FRANK H. HAMILTON, of New York,

D. HAYES AGNEW, of Philadelphia.

Official bulletins were issued several times each day during the President's prostration.

The 5th of July, though it showed some improvement in the President, was still a day of deep anxiety throughout the country. Throughout the White House during the day there was a solemn and oppressive quiet. The reports of the physicians, while they excited no new alarm, yet were not such as to remove the dreadful overshadowing anxiety and uncertainty. It was a day of watching and waiting. The busiest persons were the telegraph messengers, who have been kept running night and day delivering and receiving messages. The number of private telegrams received and forwarded to-day is almost beyond precedent in Washington. The anxiety throughout the country appears to be increasing. Persons who have arrived here from various cities and sections express their surprise that everything is so comparatively quiet in Washington. Others are further surprised that there is so little disposition here to hold the Stalwarts indirectly responsible for Guiteau's terrible crime. They can scarcely believe that nearly all the officers and clerks are at their desks to-day, and that the government business, with the exception of that requiring the attention of Cabinet officers, is going on as usual. Several members of the Cabinet went to their offices this morning to attend to important matters which could not be delayed, but they did not remain long. Overcome by anxiety and fatigue, they found themselves in great need of rest. Secretary Windom was compelled to go home and seek rest. When the departments closed at four o'clock the streets be-

came full of people, who gathered about the latest bulletins and eagerly read the announcement that the condition of the President throughout the day had not been unfavorable. The last official bulletin of last night had been unfavorable. The news of a change in the President's condition had not been issued officially, so that the people here did not know of it. When, therefore, they read this morning's announcement it was a glad surprise. Very few were at the gates to-day, for it was not a holiday, but when the sun went down—the hottest sun that Washington has seen this summer—the old crowd gathered together again and strained their anxious eyes toward the White House.

Inside the house it has been a quiet day. The Cabinet officers, certain that there was no immediate danger, went to their offices and houses. The ladies remained and rendered what services were required. The President resumed his cheerfulness and his pleasant talk, until he was told by General Swain that he must cease talking, or he would shut the door to every one, when the President sighed, and said he supposed he must obey. "I am very anxious to live, indeed," said the President, "and if necessary, I would let them cut my limb off inch by inch. Still, if I have to die, I'm ready to go." Every once in a while Private Secretary Brown enters the room, and the President is always glad to have him at his bedside. Besides Mr. Brown and the nurses, Mrs. Garfield is the only person allowed in the sick-room, except occasionally any of the Cabinet ladies. The President always welcomes his wife with a smile, and she speaks to him encouragingly. Said a Cabinet

officer: "She is like a rod of iron, and she is as all good wives would be on such an occasion." So far, seven o'clock, it has been the brightest day Washington has had since the shooting.

There is more and more doubt of the conspiracy theory. None of the Cabinet officers approve it, and the President himself does not believe in it. When Mrs. Garfield read to him a suggestion in a newspaper to the effect that there was a conspiracy, he said: "No, no; there has been no conspiracy. This is the deed of an individual."

The events of the 6th of July are thus summed up by the correspondent of the *New York Times*:

"The weary vigil at the Executive Mansion was continued last night; but those engaged in watching the brave patient were inspired by hope, and this made their mournful task lighter than it has been heretofore. Drs. Bliss and Woodward took turns in watching at the bedside of the wounded President, and Mrs. Blaine remained with him until about midnight, ministering to his wants as only a tender and sympathetic woman can. As no unfavorable change had appeared at twelve o'clock, Mrs. Blaine left the White House to seek the rest which she so much needed. She left full of hope, and confident that the President's life would be saved. Mrs. Dr. Edson, of this city, a most estimable lady and competent nurse, relieved Mrs. Blaine, and remained in the sick-room until this morning. The night was very warm, the thermometer at one o'clock this morning registering 84°. A very slight breeze was blowing, but it came from the north, and did not

penetrate to the President's room. He was constantly fanned by those in attendance on him, however, and if he suffered any inconvenience from the heat, he made no complaints, and certainly no evil effects followed. At 10.30, as the President had displayed signs of restlessness, one-quarter of a grain of morphine was administered hypodermically, and after that he slept very well for a man in his condition, and rested comfortably throughout the night. His naps lasted from ten to twenty minutes, broken by waking seasons of about the same duration until daylight. During his waking hours he was cheerful and inclined to talk, but his attendants insisted on his obeying the order of the physicians, and talking was not encouraged. Upon waking from one of his naps, he turned to Mr. Crump, a steward of the White House, who has been a constant attendant upon him since his illness, and said, smiling: 'It's too bad we couldn't hold a Cabinet meeting to-day.' Yesterday was the regular day for the meeting of the Cabinet, and the fact that it had been missed seemed to weigh upon the mind of the President. The thought was a momentary one, however, and he soon turned over and dozed off again.

"Mrs. Garfield passed the night in bed. She is anxious to be with her husband all the time, but her own health is very precarious, and the doctors insist that she shall take her regular rest at night. She is the only one of the President's family who has been allowed to enter the sick-room since Sunday. The doctors refuse to allow anybody to see the President except those who are required to attend upon him.

To this rule, Mrs. Garfield is the only exception. She arose soon after sunrise to-day, and has been in and out of the President's room all day. She remains only a few minutes at each visit, and does not talk to her husband, except to ask the stereotyped question: 'How do you feel now, dear?' to which the President responds. Perfect quiet is the great medicine for General Garfield, and both he and Mrs. Garfield recognize the authority of the surgeons, and obey their orders. The President is a good patient, and very little trouble is given by him. He seems to recognize that many of the chances of his recovery depend upon his own obedience to orders, and although he is strongly inclined to talk at all times, when he is awake, and especially when Mrs. Garfield is with him, he stops himself like an obedient schoolboy the moment the warning finger of Dr. Bliss is raised. He is bearing himself with great fortitude, and Mrs. Garfield has exhibited a coolness and courage in this crisis for which her oldest and most intimate friends had scarcely given her credit.

"During the night the President partook of small quantities of chicken soup at intervals, and it remained in his stomach without difficulty. His pulse and his temperature continued gradually to lower, and every symptom was of a nature to gratify the surgeons and add to the hope which they had felt since the first favorable change took place on Monday night. At about eight o'clock this morning people began to gather in front of the gate to the grounds of the Executive Mansion in anticipation of the bulletin which was

promised for 8.30. The crowd, however, was not nearly so large as it has been for the last four days, and the faces of the men showed that they were full of hope. The bulletin, when it came, was calculated to add to the hopes of the people. The President, it said, had passed a most comfortable night, and slept well; his pulse had been reduced from 108 at nine o'clock last night to 98, a fall during the night of 10. This was encouraging, but the temperature of the President was still more so. It registered $98\frac{1}{10}^{\circ}$ —within three-tenths of a degree of being normal. His respiration was recorded at 23. Upon the receipt of this inspiring intelligence the crowd dispersed with beaming faces. The news was spread throughout the city, and men worked better at their various vocations for the knowledge of the President's steady improvement. The Cabinet officers began to arrive at the White House, and all were overjoyed at the glad tidings. Postmaster-General James was one of the first to arrive. He grasped the hand of Private Secretary Brown, and with the one exclamation, 'Thank God!' passed into the Cabinet room. Secretaries Blaine, Hunt, Lincoln, Windom, Kirkwood, and Attorney-General McVeagh, with the ladies of the Cabinet, were early at the Executive Mansion, and all went away to their several departments with faces wreathed in hopeful smiles. Among the other visitors were President Hinsdale, of Hiram College, General Sherman, Adjutant-General Drum, Judge Field, Judge Harlan, and G. W. Phillips, an old friend of the President. None were allowed to get nearer to the sick-chamber than the Cabinet-room,

but all received such solid foundations for hope, that they left the White House with feelings of gratitude and joy.

“During the day the President has rested uncommonly well, and his symptoms have continued to be of the most favorable character. . He has slept a great deal, and his naps have been natural and refreshing. After awakening from one of them, he said to Colonel Rockwell, who was sitting by the bed fanning him: ‘I have a great many dreams, but they are all such stuff as dreams are made of.’ He rested quietly for a few minutes, and then suddenly inquired of Colonel Rockwell: ‘Have you heard any news from Williams yet?’ This is Commencement Day at Williams College, and it was while starting on his journey to be present at the exercises that the President was shot. ‘Oh, yes,’ said Colonel Rockwell, ‘we have news from there.’ The President looked at him for an instant with his large, sympathetic eyes, and then said, interrogatively, ‘Tenderness?’ The question struck the colonel as so laconic, that he imitated its brevity and answered in one word, ‘Immeasurable.’ The President smiled as though greatly pleased, turned over, and dozed off again almost instantly.

“One of the most hopeful features of the case is the fact that the wounded man still retains strength enough to move himself. At about one o’clock this morning he exclaimed: ‘Oh, I am very weak!’ and asked Colonel Rockwell and General Swaim to raise his feet and place them on a pillow, that he might rest more easily. Very tenderly the two men raised

his right foot, but they had scarcely deposited it on the pillow when his left foot dropped by its side. He had raised it himself and placed it in the desired position. The two gentlemen looked at him with astonishment for a moment, and then Colonel Rockwell began to laugh. 'Oh, yes; you're very weak,' he exclaimed. The President smiled, but said nothing. He is undoubtedly very weak for a man of his physique, but, compared to most men in his position, he is remarkably strong. During the morning he was given for nourishment chicken broth, made more nutritious by the addition of raw egg albumen. This did not satisfy his cravings, and about noon he said that he was hungry, and wanted a beefsteak. A mouthful of sirloin steak was broiled and given to him. He masticated it and swallowed all the juice. He was about to swallow the fibre, but the thought struck him that this might not be advisable, and he said to Dr. Bliss: 'Doctor, shall I swallow it?' 'Do as you please,' was the answer. He hesitated for a moment, and then said: 'I guess I had better not,' and ejected the fibre."

The same correspondent thus describes the events of the 7th of July:

"The President passed a very quiet night, sleeping a great part of the time, and his sleep was refreshing. His longest sleep was one hour, between eleven and twelve, but throughout the night he caught snatches of sleep lasting from ten to twenty minutes, and very seldom remained awake more than ten minutes at a time. The artificial coolness produced by the blankets

absorbing the ice-water did much to conduce to his comfort, and fans were used throughout the night to keep him cool. Mrs. Dr. Edson watched with him until midnight, and after that he was left wholly in the hands of his male attendants, Colonel Rockwell, General Swaim, and Mr. Crump, the steward of the White House. The ladies of the Cabinet left early in the evening, there being no necessity for their further attendance. During his waking hours in the night he occasionally took nourishment in the form of chicken broth, with the white of raw eggs. He retained this in his stomach without difficulty. Drs. Bliss and Reyburn remained in the White House during the night, and occasionally visited the patient, but their professional services were not required except as watchers. His pulse and temperature were increased slightly during the night, but this was expected by the physicians, and gave them no uneasiness. The period of the surgical fever has not yet passed, and the variations in the pulse and temperature were natural and anticipated.

“The quiet humor of the President has been as manifest since the shooting as it was when he was perfectly healthy. Since he has been confined to his bed he has been allowed liberal quantities of cracked ice, and ice-water in limited amounts has been given to him whenever he asked for it. At five o'clock this morning, after awaking from one of his short naps, he was given two ounces of chicken broth. After he had eaten it Mr. Crump took the bowl away, and, seating himself by the bed, began to fan General Gar-

field vigorously. The President at this time was thirsting for water, and after looking at Mr. Crump quizzically for a few moments, he said: 'Crump, after the chicken broth, what comes? The steward made no answer, apparently forgetting for the moment that the President was accustomed to drink after eating. After a brief silence General Garfield said, interrogatively, 'Medicine water?' Crump took the hint and gave him a sip of water, and after drinking it the President gratified the steward by clapping his hands in applause. The President slept about two-thirds of the night, and his sleep seemed to do him good.

"At seven o'clock Dr. S. A. Boynton, who attended Mrs. Garfield during her recent illness, arrived, and was allowed to see the President. General Garfield shook hands with him. Giving him a firm grasp, he said to the doctor: 'What news do you bring me?' Dr. Boynton answered: 'I bring you only good news.' 'What do you think of my chances?' asked the President, in a calm and very low voice. 'I think your chances are good; I think that you will pull through,' answered Dr. Boynton. 'Well, I think I shall, too,' said the President. At this point Dr. Woodward stepped to the bedside and forbade General Garfield to talk any more. 'Mr. President,' he said, 'you are feeling very much refreshed now after the sleep that you have had, but if you keep on talking you will injure yourself, and may undo all the work that we have done.' He then explained to the President that in talking he moved the diaphragm, and this moved the liver, and was liable to injure his prospects of

recovery. 'But I move the diaphragm,' said the President, 'every time that I breathe.' The doctor explained again that in breathing the movement of the diaphragm was very gentle, while in talking it was violent. The President then promised that he would talk no more except by permission of his doctors, and he has kept his word since."

At nine o'clock in the morning the first official bulletin was issued. It was of a very favorable nature, recording the pulse of the President at 94, his temperature at 99 1-10°, and his respiration at 23. The noon bulletin showed that the pulse of the patient had risen 6 beats, being recorded at 100, and his temperature had also risen, being registered at 100 8-10°. His condition, however, was still favorable, and these slight changes in pulse and temperature were not looked upon by the physicians with any alarm. At noon he asked for some toast, but the surgeons thought it best to give him oat-meal gruel, and of this he partook frequently during the afternoon. Yellowishness of the skin developed yesterday. This is one of the symptoms of a wounded liver, but it has not increased during the day, and the doctors are not in the least alarmed by it. At three o'clock a patent hospital bed arrived at the Executive Mansion from Boston. Dr. Bliss refused to allow the President to be placed upon it. When his bed was changed yesterday he was carried in a linen sheet to the new couch. The work was done very carefully, but the motion and the excitement increased his pulsation, and Dr. Bliss says he will not risk moving him again until he is better. The head of the bed

upon which he is resting now is above the window-sill of his room, so that he can see the trees in the grounds of the White House, the Printing Bureau, and the Washington Monument, while the Potomac forms a beautiful background to the picture. During the afternoon a despatch was received from S. M. Shoemaker, of Baltimore, offering to lend a thoroughbred Alderney cow to the President, so that he might have pure milk during his illness. The offer was accepted on behalf of General Garfield by Private Secretary Brown, and the cow will arrive here to-morrow. She will be pastured in the grounds of the Executive Mansion.

At 4.30 a thunder cloud broke over the city, and for half an hour the wind blew at a terrific rate of speed, the lightning flashed, the thunder rolled, and the rain poured down in torrents. The storm aroused the President, and during its continuance he was very uneasy. "Oh, how it lightens!" he exclaimed, and whenever a flash occurred his eyes twitched nervously, and he turned his head from the window. The storm lasted about half an hour, and it left Washington cooler than it has been for several days. The excitement resulted in raising the President's pulse somewhat, but the cool atmosphere which has followed the storm will be greatly to his benefit. As soon as the storm was over he dropped into a gentle sleep. To-morrow Jennings's refrigerating apparatus will be introduced to the room of the President.

The bulletin issued at nine o'clock to-night reports General Garfield's condition as still favorable. The surgical fever has not yet left him, however, and his

pulse, when the bulletin was written, stood at 106; his temperature at 100 2-10°, and his respiration at 23.

A sentry paces slowly across the sidewalk in front of the main carriage entrance to the White House grounds. He is in full uniform and he carries an unsheathed sabre against his shoulder. The bright, polished steel gleams in the sunshine, and the glint from the blade striking on the eye adds an annoyance to the many which the sojourners in this overheated city have been doomed to endure for several days past. Beads of perspiration roll down the face and neck of the soldier, for his position during most of the day is a very exposed one, and the fiery sunlight has there full sway. The soldier has comrades within the gates. Peering through the iron railings, you can see them lounging on the grass under the shade of trees and near the passageway on the east side. Muskets or rifles with bayonets attached are stacked in soldierly fashion in little piles here and there. There are two companies of regular troops, the members of which relieve one another in mounting guard. Their vigil never ceases. Day and night are one to them. Their drill is the same as though they were pickets and an enemy lay a short distance away. And so it is about the jail on the outskirts of the city, where lies the assassin Guiteau. It was General Sherman who took upon himself the responsibility of mounting guard in this wise. After he had made his disposition of the troops and saw them in position, he is said to have turned around to a bystander—an old friend of his—and to have said grimly, but with a look of great satisfaction: "Now this is

peace. Those men don't represent war; they represent peace." He subsequently explained to Major Brock, the Superintendent of Police, that he had placed the troops as stated simply to save the police from doing the extra work they would otherwise have been called upon to perform. Major Brock was satisfied, but he still places a policeman or two on the grounds, and he himself calls occasionally to see that everything goes smoothly. For a time, and while the absurd story of conspiracy was afloat, he used to call quite frequently, but his visits have latterly been at much longer intervals. It is a policeman, however, who opens the only gate which now affords passage to the White House. He is just inside the iron doors. In front of him, and on the outside, paces the first sentry. The latter's duty is ornamental, save in one respect—he is the representative of authority. He has never been called upon to do what policemen have to do when processions or shows pass through the streets—to prevent the populace from crowding into a space they are not entitled to enter. No one presses against the soldier. No matter what the eagerness or the anxiety has been to get the latest or earliest news of the President's condition, or how large the assemblage has been, the people have kept their distance obediently. There has been no jostling, no confusion. An instinctive decorum governs. Whenever a bulletin is prepared one copy is pasted to a tree just a little to the left of the gate and a trifle outside of the railing surrounding the grounds. Many persons simply look at these bulletins and pass on, but others, and they have been at times

very numerous, wait at their posts and watch eagerly for other information. Men who know some of the doctors ask of these and share whatever information is obtained with others less fortunately situated. Others in their eagerness have heretofore accosted every one who came out of the White House. Since what was deemed the crisis has been passed these manifestations of anxiety have been much less noticeable. Still, the number of persons who do make inquiry and the personal anxiety they display are noteworthy incidents in the history of this remarkable time.

A carriage dashes up through the asphalted street and to the portals. In it is a Cabinet Minister or some one holding near relations to the Presidential household. There is no need for the crowd to open ranks. The passageway is clear. The policeman and the sentry look simply at the driver of the vehicle. He is recognized, the gates open, and the carriage bowls along over the sandy and watered road leading in a semi-circle to the steps of the White House porch. Those who come on foot enter at the same gates and cross the sandy track to the pavement, also leading to the front of the mansion. At first the carriages used to be driven up to the steps of the mansion and under the covered porchway, but of late they have stopped short of that place, perhaps because there is there a piece of hard asphaltum on which the horses' hoofs strike with a sharp clatter. Just within the porch is the vestibule, whose flooring of tiles returns the sound of footfall with a sharp emphasis. The vestibule is a kind of lounging-place for newspaper men. Here it

is that many of them intercept ingoing and outcoming persons, doctors, Cabinet members, distinguished visitors, and the like. To the left, in the direction of the East Room, is the staircase leading to the upper floor. Two officers of the household are here in attendance from early morning till late at night. With them is to be seen often a colored servitor, tall and erect, with an honest, intensely black and generally happy-looking face. His features were saddened when men first bore the wounded body of his master up the steps of the mansion. But a day or two later, when the doctors began to give out some good news, his face began to shine with joy as he told those about him that "he felt as if he could fly." And if his flying could have helped the President, there is no doubt that he would have made the attempt, even though he had no better place to start from than the unfinished top of the ugly shaft of the Washington Monument, which looms up like a huge whitewashed chimney back of the mansion.

It takes one card to gain admission thus far. The visitor must have another to proceed further unless he is a Cabinet officer, one of the doctors, or a person employed about the household. To the left is the famous East room where the Presidential receptions are held. That room was closed on Sunday. Since then, however, it has been opened to assist in promoting a free circulation of the air, which is certainly a necessity, inasmuch as the thermometer has within the past forty-eight hours closely approached 100° in its markings. The thermometer is an official one, and hangs suspended

from a nail in the sash of one of the front windows. Close to it is a huge ice-water reservoir, which requires frequent replenishing. Ice-water, even of the peculiar whitish tint which all water here has, is indeed greatly in demand. The first anteroom up the stairs has another reservoir, and a pitcher of the same chilling beverage is to be found in the room of the President's private secretary, which is the Mecca or *ultima thule* of nearly all even of the favored visitors.

Up two flights of heavily carpeted stairs, which carry one up only one story, and then around a landing, and the visitor finds himself in a dark antechamber. Here one or two of the household servants are to be seen. They probably have some function, but the casual visitor is not likely to learn what that is. Up two steps and to the right is the room of Mr. J. Stanley Brown, the President's private secretary. It is entered by a swinging door. Within the room are a number of tables, bookcases, a few chairs, and a lounge. It is lighted by day by large windows in the rear or south side of the mansion. At night a large chandelier and drop-lights give the needed illumination. It is from this room that most of the news about the President's condition comes, and through this room pass the consulting doctors, and others whose labor requires their attendance in the wounded man's chamber. Cabinet Ministers come here and pass through a little door to the right to the chamber in which the consultations of the President's advisers are usually held. Mr. Garfield's son Harry occasionally shows himself here, also. The presiding spirit of the

apartment is Mr. Brown, who, though very young, has shown himself possessed of many rare and enviable qualities. He has the entrée to the chamber where the President lies, and by reason of his position is called upon constantly to disclose information for bulletins for publication in newspapers and for the benefit of friends. For several days he had hardly any sleep at all. He remained awake in his anxiety for his suffering chief, eager to do what he could to keep the latter from worrying. No body-servant, no nurse, no relative could be more solicitous. He has looked after inquiries and routine business from the outside, and has been in personal attendance on the President without regard to his own health, much less comfort. Yet, despite all this, he has borne himself with surprising evenness of temper. No one has heard him say an ill-natured or an angry word, or has seen him display any petulance. His good nature is something which never deserts him. It is said that the President regards him with the same affection and esteem as though he were one of his own children. Be this as it may, hundreds can bear testimony that if he had really been bound by ties of blood to the President he could not have acted with more tenderness, better judgment, or less regard for self than he has done and is doing. It may be that he is simply following the example of his employer. He could not pattern, so all here say, after a better model.

Bulletins are multiplied by a copying process, and there is quite a pile of copies of each one. Among the first distributed is that to the New York Associated

Press, which keeps an agent in the White House, with a telegraph instrument connecting by direct wire with New York city. An agent is on duty day and night. Latterly, as the President's symptoms have become more and more favorable, the duties of the agent have become less onerous. But at the start and for the first three days the bulletins were never more than fifteen minutes apart. The operator's room is east of Mr. Brown's room. His bulletins have not all been official. Indeed, very few of them have been. The official bulletins are those to which the names of several attending doctors are attached. The other bulletins were the result of interviews, and gave, as quickly as could be ascertained, the very latest indications from the President's chamber.

The room in which the President lies is in the southwest corner of the building, and in order to reach it one must, after reaching the private secretary's apartment, pass in succession through the Cabinet and the doctors' rooms. Members of the Cabinet and their wives have been in constant attendance. At the outset, indeed, and especially during the first two nights, several of them remained awake by turns all night long. It would be invidious to make any comparisons as to the respective services of these estimable ladies. Mrs. Blaine, Mrs. James, and Mrs. Hunt not only watched, but they at times made suggestions which the most experienced physicians found useful. It must not be supposed, however, that the President has had no other watchers, for that is not the case. Under General Swaim's able direction everything has

been done to give relief to the wounded man, who has had skilful, sleepless watchers constantly at his bedside. The doctors themselves have been in the adjoining apartment, and at least four of them have always been on the spot and prepared for any emergency. At first the demands on their time and attention made themselves severely felt, but within the last day or two they have by turns managed to get the rest they so sadly needed. As has already been stated in these despatches, the only person whose visits to the sick-room have been unrestricted has been the wife of the wounded man. The physicians, seeing her intelligent bearing and conduct, and observing the cheer and confidence which husband and wife imparted to one another merely by their mutual presence, speedily put Mrs. Garfield, and rightly, too, in the category of the aids to nature. Their mutual affection has been more potent than the doctors' physic.

The members of the President's Cabinet have been conspicuous actors in the scenes which the Executive Mansion has been witnessing within the last six days. At the outset, with them, as with their wives, the rule was sleepless nights. Messrs. Blaine and James especially showed the effects of their watching. Both these gentlemen have been very kind and courteous in answering the inquiries of anxious friends and of the public in general, and they have won the good opinion of numberless persons, not least among whom are the newspaper correspondents. Within a day or two Messrs. Blaine and James have brightened up again, and look natural once more. Each is called upon daily to an-

swer many despatches, and does so cheerfully, especially since their news has been all of a favorable character. Messrs. Windom, Kirkwood, Hunt, and Lincoln have also done all in their power which they have been called upon to do, and are no less deserving of praise. When the balance-sheet of these trying days comes to be taken it will be found necessary to transfer many mutual debts of kindnesses, courtesies, good feelings, and good wishes.

On the eighth the President passed a more comfortable day, and more hopeful symptoms were observed. He slept well, ate with relish, and digested his food.

The news of the attempt upon the President's life was at once telegraphed from Washington to all parts of the Union, and to Europe. Everywhere it created the most intense grief and indignation. In almost every city, town, and village in the Union business was well nigh entirely suspended. Vast crowds surrounded the bulletin-boards of the newspapers, awaiting in silence the receipt of the numerous bulletins from Washington. When they announced a change for the better a ringing cheer would rise from the crowds; but when an unfavorable bulletin arrived it was received with profound and sorrowful sadness. The most earnest sympathy with the illustrious sufferer, and the warmest admiration for the firmness and courage with which he bore his sufferings, were everywhere manifested. From Europe numerous messages of sympathy with the President and his family, and horror at the crime, were received at the White House.

At first the attempted assassination was widely believed to be the result of a conspiracy, but at length it became apparent to the Government and to the people, that it was but the cold-blooded act of a confirmed villain. The man who fired the dastardly shot was Charles Jules Guiteau, of Illinois. He is a short, thick-set, solid-looking man, about forty-five, bald-headed, with a rim of sandy hair and sandy moustache. He speaks French and German fluently, which tends to confuse his real nationality. He dresses decently and has the general appearance of a respectable beat who lives by his wits. Guiteau is a familiar figure about Washington and is known about the White House, where he has been frequently pointed out to reporters as one of the regular haunters of the antechambers. He was generally regarded by attaches as a harmless nuisance. He was first observed about the 1st of March, and began to haunt the White House immediately after the inauguration. He was an applicant for the Consulship at Marseilles, France, and pretended to be recommended by John A. Logan and other prominent politicians of Illinois.

His favorite method was to call and present his card, whereon he would often write little notes like the following, which would appear to give some insight to his distemper:

"I regret the trouble you are having with Senator Conkling. You are right and should maintain your position. You have my support and that of all patriotic citizens. I would like an audience of a few moments."

Of course these notes were never seen by the President. Very often he would sit about the anteroom for hours and say nothing, and at others he was insolent toward the White House officials. The latter interfered with his carrying off White House stationery, which he resented. The last collision of this nature occurred about ten days ago, since when he has changed his haunt from the President's Mansion to the War Department library. Of late he has had no particular abiding place, sleeping in the public parks. He has been seen to go out with a small parcel under his arm and change his linen behind a tree in the public grounds.

That the assassination of Garfield had been deliberated on and carefully planned by him is plainly apparent from the dramatic manner of its execution and the papers prepared beforehand. He had arranged with the colored driver of hack 195, named Aquilla Barton, to drive him away from the depot the instant the bloody deed was accomplished. The hackman is a very smart colored man and says he was approached by Guiteau, who was a perfect stranger to him, and asked if he had a team that would go very fast; he should need one pretty soon. The hackman said he had and asked him where he wanted to go. The stranger replied that he wanted to go to the cemetery and would give him two dollars to drive him there as fast as the horses could go. He then gave directions for the hack to stand at B-street door and take him up at a given signal and drive away without stopping to ask questions.

There was nothing in his manner, according to the hackman, to give any suspicion of the real intentions of the assassin. He had even explained to the hackman that he had engaged another man (Taylor) the night before to do the job, but he had not turned up and that was why he now called on Barton.

"If I'd knowed what he was up to," said Barton, "I'd a' drove him to the cemetery right thar."

Both of these hackmen were arrested this evening by order of District Attorney Corkhill and placed under surveillance until they can be thoroughly examined.

When Guiteau had fired his second shot and made for the B-street entrance of the depot, where hack 195 waited, he found his plan of escape wouldn't work. Depot Policeman Parks sprang between him and the exit and the assassin then turned the other way. Here he was confronted by Officer Kearney, and both officers seized him at once. As they dragged him through the crowd he flourished a sealed letter in one hand and shouted in a highly dramatic manner: "Arthur is President of the United States now. I am a Stalwart. This letter will tell you everything. I want you to take it to General Sherman." The letter in question was taken from him at police headquarters, and is the one addressed to the White House.

He was deprived of his pistol on arrest. It is an ugly-looking weapon, of what is known as the five-barreled British bull-dog pattern, of 44-calibre, with a white bone handle, and had three loads undischarged. He did not throw it away, but flourished it in his hand

when he ran, everybody about the waiting-room dodging from in front of it without regard to appearances.

Besides the letter above mentioned Guiteau had left a parcel of papers at the news-stand in the depot. There were two large packages. An examination of these mysterious documents was made by District-Attorney Corkhill and Colonel W. A. Cook, his assistant. They also sent for Byron Andrews, who is mentioned in the assassin's letter. Mr. Andrews is the correspondent in charge of the Washington bureau of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*. In his own defence Andrews makes the following statement :

"It was reported on the street that a package of papers was found on the person of Guiteau addressed to me. On hearing this rumor I repaired at once to the City Hall and found District-Attorney Corkhill in possession of the documents. I then made a sworn statement that I did not know Guiteau; never heard of him until to-day, and had no knowledge of any of his operations. The District Attorney thought best not to deliver the documents addressed to me. He let me see the contents of a personal note to me, which was written on a single sheet of paper and enclosed in a small envelope, which was found in the package. The contents were about like this: 'I am a stranger to you; you don't know me. I know you by reputation as a journalist. I have chosen you as the person to whom I will commit the accompanying documents for distribution. I wish you to see that a proper statement of the affair goes to the American press.' Then

he signs his name and says he is from Freeport, Illinois. I never heard of him," repeated Mr. Andrews, "and did not know there was such a man living as Guiteau."

Mr. Andrews is well and favorably known to all correspondents on the row. No one doubts his statement who knows him. The reason he was selected as the custodian of the assassin's papers is probably due to the fact that he was the representative of the only Stalwart paper in Chicago.

The arrest was made so promptly that the prisoner was on the way to police headquarters before the crowd about the depot fairly caught an idea of the great crime which had been perpetrated. Officers escorted Guiteau to police headquarters, three squares down Pennsylvania avenue. Before they had covered half the distance, however, the news had overtaken them. A great crowd soon gathered in and about the vicinity of headquarters, and the shouts of "Lynch him!" "Tear down the building!" "Hang him!" made it soon apparent to the police that the place could not be made strong enough to hold the assassin against any ordinarily excited mob, thousands flocking in every moment from every direction, especially from the scene of the assassination. A hack was therefore immediately procured and, surrounded by a large body of police, the prisoner thrown therein, and rapidly driven through the howling mob before it had made up its mind to a plan of operations, and away to the jail on the bank of the Anacostia.

Lieutenant Eckloff, who rode to jail with Guiteau,

states that on the way down he conversed freely about the matter, saying that his only purpose was to unite the Republican party. On arriving at the jail the jailors, finding what the matter was, said they had seen him before, and, while they were discussing where they had seen him, the prisoner said :

"I can tell you when it was. I was down here last Saturday and got your permission to look over the jail, as I wanted to see what kind of place I had to come to."

Then the keepers remembered him. He was then locked up. The prisoner stated to Detective McElfresh he contemplated this act six weeks ago and had made preparations for it. Detective McElfresh asked him if he was an American. He replied :

"Yes; born and raised in this country and a citizen of Chicago."

Mr. McElfresh asked what political party he belonged to and the reply was :

"I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts. I have shot Garfield to make Arthur President. What are you?" inquired the prisoner.

He was informed that his escort was a detective.

"All right," said Guiteau. "Give me a room in the third story and I will arrange with General Sherman to make you Chief of Police."

There was nothing in his manner to lead to the belief that he was insane except every now and then such expressions. There is much doubt expressed on this point, a good many being of the opinion that his insanity business is but a new copy of the old dodge to escape the penalty of murder.

The following letter was taken from the prisoner's pocket at police headquarters :

"July 2, 1881.

"TO THE WHITE HOUSE: The President's tragic death was a sad necessity, but it will unite the Republican party and save the republic. Life is a flimsy dream and it matters little when one goes. A human life is of small value. During the war thousands of brave boys went down without a tear. I presume the President was a Christian and that he will be happier in Paradise than here. It will be no worse for Mrs. Garfield, dear soul, to part with her husband this way than by natural death. He is liable to go at any time, anyway. I had no ill will toward the President. His death was a political necessity. I am a lawyer, a theologian and a politician. I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts. I was with General Grant and the rest of our men in New York during the canvass. I have some papers for the press which I shall leave with Byron Andrews and his cojournalists, at 1420 New York avenue, where all the reporters can see them. I am going to the jail.

"CHARLES GITEAU."

Byron Andrews, who is the Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, says that while it is true a package of papers is in the hands of the police, accompanied by a note addressed to himself, he has no personal acquaintance with Giteau, and never heard of his existence until this morning. From what he has gathered from the police Andrews believes that Giteau's home is in Freeport, Illinois.

The following letter was found on the street shortly after Giteau's arrest. The envelope was unsealed and was addressed: "Please deliver at once to General

Sherman (or his first assistant in charge of the War Department):”

“TO GENERAL SHERMAN: I have just shot the President. I shot him several times, as I wished him to go as easily as possible. His death was a political necessity. I am a lawyer, theologian and politician. I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts. I was with General Grant and the rest of our men in New York during the canvass. I am going to the jail. Please order out your troops and take possession of the jail at once.

“Very respectfully,

“CHARLES GUTEAU.”

On receiving the above General Sherman gave it the following indorsement:

“HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

“WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 2, 1881—11.35 A. M.*

“This letter . . . was handed me this minute by Major William J. Twining, United States Engineers, Commissioner of the District of Columbia, and Major William G. Brock, Chief of Police. I don’t know the writer, never heard of or saw him to my knowledge, and hereby return it to the keeping of the above-named parties as testimony in the case.

“W. T. SHERMAN, General.”

The father and brother of the assassin give the following accounts of him:

The brother, John W. Guiteau, of Boston, says: Charles Julius was born in Freeport, Illinois, in 1841 or 1842. He was one of the children of L. W. Guiteau, late cashier of Second National Bank, of Freeport, Illinois. Mr. Guiteau, Sr., died recently, aged seventy

years, and was one of the oldest and most esteemed citizens of the place. As a youth Charles Julius is reported to have been a good, tractable boy, with nothing to mark him as either better or worse than the average of his associates. Several years before he became of age, and while preparing for college at the University of Michigan, he conceived the idea of joining the Oneida Community, and did so. He dwelt there for some years, and subsequently left because he could not live up to the restrictions of the order. Full of anger, he threatened to issue a publication exposing the peculiarities of the Community, but was prevented from doing that by an article written by John H. Noyes, the recognized head of the Community. Immediately afterward he entered upon the study of law in the office of George Scovill, a brother-in-law, in Chicago. He was admitted to the bar in that city about eighteen years ago, but is said to never have had other than small office practice in way of bill collecting and such like small work. It is reported that he was prosecuted and fell into bad odor in that city on account of collecting sums of money which he failed to turn over to owners. He eventually had to leave town.

The assassin has been travelling throughout New England more or less for a year or two past as a lecturer, and assuming the title of reverend he advertised himself as a lawyer and theologian. He once claimed to be an honorable, and his brother telling him that he had no claim to such title, having never borne political honors, he replied that any lawyer was an honorable, and he knew a lawyer in Chicago who had been

in the State Prison who advertised himself as an honorable. This and the matter of numerous unpaid board bills in Boston led to a wordy controversy, which resulted in Charles being expelled from his brother's house, and subsequently violently ejected from his office, as he would neither take advice nor mend his evil ways and fraudulent practices. This was about fourteen months ago. Charles has been in jail in New York for debt. He has been shown up by Chicago and New York papers for irregularities, and has sued them in return for libel, with no favorable result to himself. At one time he formed a scheme to buy the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, and asked the president of the Second National Bank of Freeport, Illinois, to loan him \$25,000 with which to purchase it, promising the president of the bank as an inducement that he would secure his election as Governor of Illinois. The project was not entertained. In numerous places Charles Julius has lectured to very small audiences, advertising himself as Charles J. Guiteau, the celebrated Chicago lawyer of eminence and ability, etc., and skipping out without paying his hotel and other bills. The brother above quoted says that he never knew that Charles was a drinker or given to any ruinous species of dissipation; that he has seen little of him for twenty years, but has often heard from, or, rather, of him; that he has long considered him crazy, and expected sooner or later, if he lived, that he would bring up in a lunatic asylum or meet a worse fate.

The following is an extract from a letter, dated March 30, 1873, from the father of the assassin to John W.

Guiteau, his brother, in this city, in which he refers to his son Charles as follows :

“ I have been ready to believe him capable of almost any folly, stupidity or rascality. The one possible excuse that I can render for him is that he is insane. Indeed, if I were called as witness upon the stand I am inclined to think I should testify that he is absolutely insane and is hardly responsible for his acts. My own impression is that unless something shall stop him in his folly and mad career he will become hopelessly insane and a fit subject for the lunatic asylum. Before I finally gave him up I had exhausted all my powers of reason and persuasion as well as other resources in endeavoring to control his actions and thoughts, but without avail. I found he was deceitful and could not be depended upon in anything; stubborn, wilful, conceited and at all times outrageously wicked, apparently possessed of the devil. I saw him once or twice when it seemed to me he was willing to do almost anything wicked he should happen to take fancy to. You will remember, perhaps, at the last conversation we had about him, I told you to keep clear of him and not have anything to do with him. Should anybody ask about him now I should be compelled to say to them that I thought he was insane, or at least a monomaniac, and should there leave it and say no more about him. His insanity is of such a character that he is as likely to become a sly, cunning desperado as anything. Could I see him I might possibly make another and vigorous effort to change the whole channel of his thoughts and feelings. If I could

not do that I should have no hope whatever of being able to do him any good. I made up my mind long ago never to give him another dollar in money until I should be convinced he was thoroughly humbled and radically changed. I am sometimes afraid he would steal, rob, or do anything before his egotism and self-conceit shall be knocked out of him, and perhaps even all that will not do it. So I, you see, regard his case as hopeless or nearly so, and, of course, know no other way but to dismiss him entirely from my mind and leave him entirely in the hands of his Maker, with a very faint hope that he can be changed either in this world or the next."

The following statement concerning the shooting was furnished to the press by District-Attorney Corkhill, on the 14th of July, in order to correct certain erroneous assertions which had been made relative to Guiteau and his crime :

"The interest felt by the public in the details of the assassination and the many stories published justify me in stating that the following is a correct and accurate statement concerning the points to which reference is made :

"The assassin, Charles J. Guiteau, came to Washington city on Sunday, March 6, 1881, and stopped at the Ebbitt House, remaining only one day. He then secured a room in another part of the city and has boarded and roomed at various places, the full details of which I have. On Wednesday, May 18, 1881, the assassin determined to murder the President. He had neither money nor pistol at the time. About the last

of May he went into O'Meara's store, corner of Fifteenth and F streets, in this city, and examined some pistols, asking for the largest calibre. He was shown two, similar in calibre and only different in the price. On Wednesday, June 8, he purchased the pistol which he used, for which he paid \$10, he having in the meantime borrowed \$15 of a gentleman in this city on the plea that he wanted to pay his board bill. On the same evening about seven o'clock he took the pistol and went to the foot of Seventeenth street and practised firing at a board, firing ten shots. He then returned to his boarding place and wiped the pistol dry and wrapped it up in his coat, and waited his opportunity.

"On Sunday morning, June 12, he was sitting in Lafayette Park, and saw the President leave for the Christian Church, on Vermont avenue, and he at once returned to his room, obtained his pistol, put it in his hip-pocket and followed the President to church. He entered the church, but found he could not kill him there without danger of killing some one else. He noticed that the President sat near a window. After church he made an examination of the window, and found he could reach it without any trouble, and that from this point he could shoot the President through the head without killing any one else. The following Wednesday he went to the church, examined the location and the window, and became satisfied he could accomplish his purpose, and he determined, therefore, to make the attempt at the church the following Sunday. He learned from the papers that the President would leave the city on Saturday, the 18th of June,

with Mrs. Garfield, for Long Branch. He therefore determined to meet him at the depot. He left his boarding place about five o'clock Saturday morning, June 18, and went down to the river, at the foot of Seventeenth street, and fired five shots to practice his aim and be certain his pistol was in good order.

“He then went to the depot and was in the ladies' waiting-room of the depot, with his pistol ready, when the Presidential party entered. He says Mrs. Garfield looked so weak and frail that he had not the heart to shoot the President in her presence, and as he knew he would have another opportunity he left the depot. He had previously engaged a carriage to take him to the jail. On Wednesday evening the President and his son, and, I think, United States Marshal Henry, went out for a ride. The assassin took his pistol and followed them and watched them for some time in hopes the carriage would stop, but no opportunity was given. On Friday evening, July 1, he was sitting on the seat in the park opposite the White House when he saw the President come out alone; he followed him down the avenue to Fifteenth street, and then kept on the opposite side of the street up Fifteenth until the President entered the residence of Secretary Blaine. He waited at the corner of Mr. Morton's late residence, corner Fifteenth and H streets, for some time, and then, as he was afraid he would attract attention, he went into the alley in the rear of Mr. Morton's residence, examined his pistol and waited. The President and Secretary Blaine came out together, and he followed

them on foot to the gate of the White House, but could get no opportunity to use his weapon.

“On the morning of Saturday, July 2, he breakfasted at the Riggs House about seven o'clock. He then walked up into the park and sat there for an hour. He then took a one-horse avenue car and rode to Sixth street, got out and went into the depot and loitered there, had his shoes blackened, engaged a hackman for \$2 to take him to the jail, went into the water-closet and took his pistol out of his hip-pocket and unwrapped the paper from around it, which he had put there for the purpose of preventing the perspiration from the body dampening the powder, examined his pistol carefully, tried the trigger, and then returned and took a seat in the ladies' waiting-room, and as soon as the President entered advanced behind him and fired two shots. These facts, I think, can be relied upon as accurate, and I give them to the public to contradict certain false rumors in connection with this most atrocious of atrocious crimes.”

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRESIDENT'S ILLNESS.

Second Week of the President's Illness—Alarming Symptoms—Cause of the Relapse—Struggle between Life and Death—A Painful Operation—Locating the Bullet—The Induction Balance—Progress of the Case—Hopes of Recovery—Courage of the President—He desires to leave Washington—Sympathy of Foreign Powers—Letter from Mr. Gladstone—Another Painful Operation—Another Relapse—Dangers of Malaria—An anxious Sunday—A Period of Danger—Sympathy from China—A New Complication—Inflammation of the Parotid Gland—Progress of this Feature of the Case—Incidents in the Sick Room—The President holding his own—The Surgeons decide upon Removal—An Alarming Relapse—Another bad Saturday—A Fight for Life—A Message from Queen Victoria—Scenes at the Sufferer's Bedside—An Interview with his Children—A Change for the Better—Continued Improvement—Dr. Bliss' Opinions—Scenes in and about the White House—Preparations for Removing the President to Long Branch—Public Prayers for the President—He parts with his Sons—The Preparations for Removal to Long Branch Continued—Action of the Pennsylvania Railroad—The Cottage at Long Branch—The Departure from Washington—Incidents of the Journey—Arrival at Long Branch—The President in his new Quarters—Success of the Journey—A Change for the Better—The First Week by the Seaside—A Touching Incident—Renewed Signs of Danger.

FROM the 8th of July the President remained very much in the same condition as that which had marked the first week after the attempt upon his life. On the whole there seemed a steady progress towards improvement, but at times there were changes which sorely tried the skill and courage of the attending physicians.

All through this anxious period President Garfield displayed the highest personal courage and firmness, submitting himself, with childlike faith, to the directions of his physicians, but at the same time bearing up against every discouraging symptom with a courage and determination that both astonished and encouraged his medical attendants. One of the chief hindrances to his recovery was found to be the intense heat of the summer, but he bore all the discomforts arising from it with patience and cheerfulness. To mitigate the torrid temperature a refrigerating apparatus was introduced into the sick-room. It worked successfully, and by means of it the physicians were generally able to reduce the temperature to an endurable degree without subjecting their patient to the dangers of draughts or sudden changes of temperature. In short, an equable degree of coolness was maintained in the chamber throughout the President's stay at the White House.

On the 11th of July, slightly unfavorable symptoms manifested themselves, the pulse growing higher, and an increased degree of fever setting in. This caused grave anxiety to the physicians, but on the morning of the 12th a change for the better was noticed.

"The next week passed very much like the preceding one. On the 18th of July there was a slight change for the worse, but on the 19th the President again rallied. The real cause of the relapse was due to too much exertion, too much food, and the manipulations of a colored barber. "The President had been allowed," says the same correspondent, writing on the 19th of July, "to eat what he chose, and having a good

appetite had chosen food in quality and quantity such as only should have been given to a convalescent. By some misunderstanding between the patient and the doctors, a barber had been called in and had manipulated him rather roughly. It appears that the doctors arrived in the middle of the ceremony, and seeing the President's evident weariness, stopped the proceedings immediately, much to the barber's disgust. The President to-day spoke of the incident of yesterday, and appeared very much amused to think of it. He was bright and cheerful, as usual, and when Mrs. Garfield came in and read the papers to him at his request, he was in high good humor. Among other things she read the fact that Sitting Bull was starving, when the President playfully suggested that they should send him some of his oat-meal, to which he has taken a great prejudice."

On the 26th of July, the same correspondent wrote as follows of the condition of the President :

"As was the case at the same hour yesterday, there was a very gloomy look prevalent at the White House this morning. The President had passed a bad night. His fever had gone down early in the evening, but had greatly arisen towards midnight. This was followed by renewed symptoms of the chills, but happily these unfavorable symptoms passed off, and there was no recurrence of the chills. The patient did not get much sleep after twelve o'clock. Dr. Agnew, of Philadelphia, arrived about one o'clock in the morning and was received at the depot by Private Secretary Brown, who escorted him to the residence of Attorney General MacVeagh, whose guest he is now. He did not visit the White

House till this morning about eight o'clock, shortly after which the first consultation of the day was held. There was a very eager demand on the part of the public for news from the Executive Mansion, a demand which was not satisfied till a late hour. The physicians declined to talk, and the very little that had leaked out through unofficial sources was not at all satisfactory. Half an hour later it was reported that the President was even much worse than reported on the bulletins. These reports again flew over the city and travelled about the departments with such rapidity that before eleven o'clock the interest of day before yesterday was reawakened. One of these reports was that mortification had set in, another that it had been found necessary to remove a section of the rib, and still another that the physicians were probing for the ball and had cut it out. These ugly rumors were quickly followed by the more serious one, that the President was dying. No one knows whence this sprung, but the fact that the United States flag flying over the Departments of Justice was at half-mast appeared to justify the report in the minds of those at a distance who heard it. It appeared, however, that the flag was lowered in respect to the memory of the late Justice Clifford. The truth was, that shortly after the issuance of the morning bulletin the President was again attacked with vomiting, which was followed by an alarming febrile rise. The indications were that the wound was partially closed, the discharge of pus having become very slight. Upon examination it was decided that a pus cavity was again in process of formation, and immediate steps were taken for the relief of

the patient. The flexible tube, which had been passed from the incision to the juncture of the track of the ball and the broken rib, was removed by Dr. Agnew, and a finger inserted into the incision and the cause of the irritation instantly discovered. Small pieces of splintered bone were felt and were removed, but not without some difficulty. A portion of the fractured rib, measuring half an inch in length, was one of these pieces.

“The operation was a very painful one and took some time to complete it. Most of the pieces were removed by the finger, but one of the fragments was lifted by means of an instrument called an elevator. The operation was performed by Dr. Agnew, and borne remarkably well by the President. A straight tube was inserted through the incision to the spot where the pus cavity and the pieces of broken rib were discovered. The original wound will now be permitted to heal, and the lower orifice be depended upon for the discharge of the pus. This incision opens a more direct communication with the channel of the ball and the spot where the rib is fractured. It appears that none of the physicians had anticipated an additional crisis this morning, but when it came they were ready and coped with it successfully. The effect upon the President of this secondary operation, if it may be called such, was to afford immediate relief. There was no perceptible rise in temperature at the close, although it took nearly two hours. On the contrary, the relief to the President became immediately apparent. Within an hour afterwards he was asleep, and slept very well at

intervals during the day. It is thought by the physicians that the fractured rib has been a great source of irritation and largely the cause of the chills and fever. It is possible there are still other small pieces of bone yet to come, but these will work out of their own accord. Dr. Agnew succeeded in pressing the broken portions of the rib back into their normal position, where, if all the parts are removed, they will quickly knit. By noon the President was said to be quite comfortable and all the physicians appeared to be satisfied. Cheerfulness again returned to the occupants of the White House."

From the period of the wounding of President Garfield, his physicians had recognized that one of the gravest dangers attending his recovery was the presence of the bullet in his body. It was deemed best, in his exhausted condition, not to attempt its removal, which would require a painful operation, but to allow it to remain, trusting that it would in time become encysted, and so cause the patient but little trouble until renewed strength should enable him to bear the removal of it. Several attempts were made to find the exact location of the ball, the most successful being by means of the "Induction Balance," invented by Professor Alexander Graham Bell. On the 1st of August the instrument was applied with great success, and the exact location of the ball was definitely ascertained. This instrument, modified so as to impart to it the highest degree of sensitiveness, was used in the search for the leaden ball. Its nature is such that it is not easily understood except by electricians. It consists of

a battery, two coils of insulated wire, a circuit-breaker, and a telephone. The ends of the primary coil are connected with a battery, and those of the secondary coil are fastened to the posts of the telephone. This latter connection renders audible any faint sound produced by the circuit-breaker, or any change in the pitch of that sound. The coils may be so placed in their relations to each other that no sound is made by the circuit-breaker. They are then said to be balanced, and the wires are extremely sensitive to the disturbing presence of any other piece of metal. A bullet like that with which the President was shot, before it was flattened, will, when placed within two and one-half inches of the most sensitive point on the pair of coils, cause a faint protest against the disturbance to arise in the telephone. A flattened bullet of the same bulk, when presented with its flat surface toward the coils, will make its presence felt at a distance of nearly five inches. When its sharp edge is turned toward the plane of the coils, no sound is produced beyond the distance of one inch.

With these facts in view, the experiments to locate the position of the bullet in the President's body were begun. The patient was bolstered up in bed, and he watched the proceedings with mute interest. His physicians stood around. Professor Bell stood with his back toward the President, holding the telephone to his ear, while Mr. Taintor, Professor Bell's assistant, moved the coils over that portion of the abdomen where the leaden ball was thought to be imbedded. When the sensitive centre of the instrument was immediately

over the black and blue spot that appeared shortly after the President was wounded, Professor Bell said: "Stop! there it is."

The experiment was repeated several times—once with Mrs. Garfield listening at the telephone; and she told the President when the coils had been brought to the spot where the presence of the bullet had previously caused the delicate instrument to give forth a singing sound. From these tests it was inferred that in any event the bullet was less than five inches from the surface, and that if it was only slightly flattened, or if its edge was turned obliquely toward the surface, it might be much nearer to the skin. The conclusion reached was that if it should become necessary to remove the bullet at any time, this might be speedily accomplished by two quick cuts with the surgeon's lancet.

The days passed on, presenting very few changes. The general course of the patient's illness seemed to offer strong grounds for hope of recovery. Yet he was terribly ill all the while, and each day's events were but a record of a manful battle for life, assisted by all that medical or surgical skill could devise. Throughout the whole of the trying period the President maintained his calm courage and cheerfulness, and was hopeful when even his most trusted medical attendants were wrestling with despair.

On the 2d of August the correspondent of the *Philadelphia Times* wrote:

"There is nothing new or striking in the news from the White House to-day. The President passed a very

agreeable night, sleeping most of the time, and awoke feeling refreshed. The morning bulletin showed that everything was favorable, and that the patient was comfortable and cheerful. He was again raised into a semi-sitting posture, and remained in this position until after he had taken his breakfast. This meal included coffee and a small piece of rare beefsteak, and toast saturated with milk. The surgeons continue to give him koumiss occasionally in the place of an equal quantity of milk, and the President is said to evince a singular fondness for this Tartar stimulant. He is not permitted to retain the sitting posture long enough to be tired, though the change is so agreeable that he is able to stand it about half the time during the day."

The wounding of President Garfield was telegraphed all over the world, and everywhere aroused the warmest manifestations of sympathy. All the foreign ministers to the United States received orders to express to the Secretary of State, and through him to the family of the President, the earnest sympathy of their governments with the illustrious sufferer, and their hearty detestation of the crime of which he was the victim. The Queen of England manifested the liveliest sympathy, and in repeated despatches to her minister at Washington, sought to know the condition of the President, and sent the most sympathizing messages to Mrs. Garfield. England's great heart went out warmly to the wounded ruler, and numerous public meetings in Great Britain sent resolutions of sympathy and respect for the victim, and horror at the crime. One

of the most gratifying of these evidences of friendship was embodied in the following letter from the Prime Minister of Great Britain to Mrs. Garfield :

"LONDON, July 21st, 1881.

"DEAR MADAME:—You will, I am sure, excuse me, though a personal stranger, for addressing you by letter to convey to you the assurances of my own feelings and those of my countrymen on the occasion of the late horrible attempt to murder the President of the United States in a form more palpable at least than that of messages conveyed by telegraph. Those feelings have been feelings in the first instance of sympathy, and afterwards of joy and thankfulness almost comparable, I venture to say only second, to the strong emotions of the great nation of which he is the appointed head. Individually, I have, let me beg you to believe, had my full share in the sentiments which have possessed the British nation. They have been prompted and quickened largely by what I venture to think is the ever-growing sense of harmony and mutual respect and affection between the countries, and of a relationship which, from year to year becomes more and more a practical bond of union between us. But they have also drawn much of their strength from a cordial admiration of the simple heroism which has marked the personal conduct of the President, for we have not yet wholly lost the capacity of appreciating such an example of Christian faith and manly fortitude. This exemplary picture has been made complete by your own con-

tribution to its noble and touching features, on which I only forbear to dwell because I am directly addressing you. I beg to have my respectful compliments and congratulations conveyed to the President, and to remain, dear madame, with great esteem, your most faithful servant,

“W. E. GLADSTONE.”

Secretary Blaine sent an appropriate reply, saying :

“I am requested by Mrs. Garfield to say that among the many thousand manifestations of interest and expressions of sympathy which have reached her, none has more deeply touched her heart than the kind words of Mr. Gladstone.”

On the 8th of August the surgeons made another examination of the wound with the probe, in order to ascertain the exact location of the assassin's bullet. The operation was painful and trying, but resulted in showing that the wound inflicted by Guiteau's pistol was of a far less serious character than was for a long time supposed. It appeared that some of the dangers most feared had no real existence, and that there was reason to apprehend neither an unfavorable turn nor lasting inconvenience from the continued presence of the bullet in the President's body.

The President at first seemed to sink under the painful operation, but at length rallied, and Dr. Agnew declared his condition so favorable that he returned to Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 9th. On that day the President wrote his name on a tablet with a pen, at the request of his physicians, who

wanted to test his nervous system. The experiment resulted in a very tolerable signature.

Alarming symptoms now began to manifest themselves. The pulse did not diminish, and the high temperature was steadily maintained, showing that the President's life was being gradually wasted away. In addition to this, the weather was intensely warm and trying, and the pestilential low grounds between the Executive Mansion and the Potomac began to send up their noxious vapors, which threatened to afflict the already worn-out sufferer with malarial fever. The President fully realized the danger of this last complication, and frequently expressed a wish to be removed from Washington to some healthier place. The physicians, however, while fully recognizing the necessity for a removal at the earliest hour, were unanimously of the opinion that the President was yet too weak to bear the fatigue of a journey, no matter how short.

On Sunday night, August 14th, the President suffered an alarming relapse, which aroused the gravest anxiety on the part of his physicians, and sent a thrill of grief throughout the country. On Monday morning, the 15th, it was rumored in Washington that the President was dying. This, happily, proved to be false.

"The situation on Tuesday, August 16th, was very little changed from that of the previous day. The anxiety of Monday continued throughout the day, but was attended with less excitement.

"No words of consolation could be obtained from

the White House after the noon bulletin was issued. In fact very little information of an official character could be obtained at all. The doctors and those who had access to the sick chamber kept themselves out of the way during the afternoon. The gloomy look of yesterday was again visible on the faces which gathered in the room of Private Secretary Brown. The members of the Cabinet, who came in and out at various times during the day, were indisposed to talk about the matter. Attorney General MacVeagh said that he considered the situation as very critical indeed. He had no idea that the President would be able to pull through. To him it looked as if everybody should be prepared for the end, which was apparently near at hand. Secretary Lincoln arrived from New York and immediately presented himself at the White House, where he has been most of the day. Secretary Windom and wife and Attorney General MacVeagh and wife remained at the White House till noon. At half-past eleven the Chinese Minister, Chin Lan Pin, accompanied by one of the attachés of the Chinese Legation, called. They were dressed in full court costume. The object was to convey to Mrs. Garfield a message of sympathy from the Chinese Emperor, and they were received in the Blue Room with the ordinary ceremony of state. Secretary Blaine is not expected to arrive before to-morrow. The fact that he has been sent for has been disputed, but it is stated with equal authority that he has been telegraphed and may be here by to-morrow night. The White House this afternoon bears the appearance of a house over which hangs the

shadow of death. The disappointment of the noon bulletin is exhibited in every face. Even those whose hopes were not extinguished by the patient's condition last night received the intelligence of the continued prostration of the President with feelings akin to despair. There appears to be some who are impressed with a sort of blind faith that the President will get through everything successfully. They can give no reason for the faith which is within them, but are none the less stubbornly fixed in the belief. Up to this afternoon this appeared to inspire Private Secretary Brown more than anybody about the White House. This afternoon, however, he bears the appearance of having completely broken down. The face of this favorite attaché bore a look of suppressed grief which nothing but the most gloomy anticipations could produce. He seemed to want to keep out of the way, to see nobody. The same may be said of other attendants, along with the doctors.

“ Within two hours after the issuance of the noon bulletin scarcely a soul remained above stairs who was accessible to the reporters. There was Assistant Secretary Pruden in charge, but he was not inclined to talk, and felt the general depression. Secretary Hunt came out of the library a few minutes before three o'clock, and was asked to give the latest condition of the President. He was almost dumb with grief, and only said: ‘ There is nothing at all I can say.’ During this time, however, there was no indication of increase of unfavorable symptoms over those expressed in the noon bulletins. No vomiting had been reported since morning, and

the pulse remained high, with the temperature in *statu quo*.

"The midday bulletin cast a gloom over the attachés of the Executive Mansion, and the greatest anxiety prevailed. The change was even noticeable in the expression and countenance of Private Secretary Brown, who has from the first entertained one of the most sanguine opinions that the President would recover. Secretary Hunt, when asked if he could say anything favorable regarding the present condition of the patient, said, in a tone which showed that he was deeply affected, that there was absolutely nothing to say, that everything that could be said was now visible from the outside. Mrs. Garfield is said to be as cheerful as the circumstances will allow, and that she entertains a strong belief that her husband will recover."

On the 17th the condition of the President was about the same as on the previous day. On the 18th a new and dangerous complication manifested itself in the inflammation and serious swelling of the parotid gland. This is the salivary gland situated nearest the ear, and pours its secretion into the mouth during mastication. Its duct, called the duct of Stino, opens into the mouth opposite the second molar tooth. It is the same gland which is always affected when people have the mumps, and the first symptoms in the President's case were somewhat similar to those of a patient suffering from severe mumps. This was a serious complication, as it added an additional drain to the already heavy tax upon the patient's weakened system. The physicians in attendance, while recognizing it as dangerous,

did not, like the general public, regard it as a symptom of blood poisoning. Dr. Hamilton declared to the correspondent of the *Philadelphia Times*, that the inflammation of the gland was not an unusual occurrence in such cases, and that he did not regard it as alarming. On the same day this correspondent wrote :

“Dr. Bliss was asked this afternoon about the rumors to the effect that the swelling of the parotid gland was an indication of pyæmia, low fever and other complications of a more or less serious nature, and also that mortification had set in. The doctor said that it was very curious to him, in view of the fact that pyæmia was such a specific disease, that some people will insist that the President has it, while the attending surgeons have thus far been unable to discover any indication of it whatsoever. ‘This inflammation,’ the doctor continued, ‘is nothing unusual in cases where patients have become greatly debilitated. I have seen it many times in cases of gunshot wounds.’

“‘Then, it is not pyæmia, doctor?’

“‘Oh, no.’

“‘Is it an indication of fever, typhoid or otherwise?’

“‘Not at all, sir. It is an affection which need not cause the slightest alarm.’”

The 19th showed an encouraging improvement in the President. The official bulletins for the day were hopeful in tone.

A letter from Washington, written on the night of the 19th, said :

“There was more speculation about the streets to-

night than last night at the same hours. Those who crowded about the bulletins did not appear to be fully satisfied with the situation. From unofficial sources, however, it is learned that this public apprehension is unfounded. They assert at the Executive Mansion that the President has been doing well all day and is still improving. No sickness is apparent, and the glandular inflammation has gone down somewhat and gives no uneasiness to the physicians. The President, however, is feeling a little gloomy. The near approach of Saturday is dreaded by him, it is said. It is on that day, by a sort of strange fatality, that all his bad turns have occurred. He has noticed this and grown somewhat morbid over the idea that Saturday is his unlucky day. He thinks if he can pull through Sunday without any change for the worse, if he can only wake up on Monday morning feeling better than on to-day, he believes he will get well. This notion of an unlucky day has worked upon his mind to such an extent that it is feared that any slight backset to-morrow will bring about a strong reaction. There is curiously enough a similar sentiment among the public to-night. If he can only pull through his unlucky day, it is said on every hand, the President and the people may then take fresh courage."

That the President's fear of a bad Saturday was not unreal, was proved by the fact that on the 20th of August he began to show symptoms of a relapse. These symptoms increased, and Sunday, August 21st, was a day of anxiety and gloom at the White House.

Slight indications of delirium manifested themselves

at this time, but the physicians attributed this to extreme weakness, and not to any decided mental disturbance, and their view was subsequently borne out by an improved mental condition on the part of the patient. Writing on the 22d of August, *The Times* correspondent said :

“The glandular swelling is pronounced to-day about the same as it was yesterday, but it is said to give less pain and annoyance. Dr. Boynton is of the opinion that it is reduced somewhat, though he says not materially, and that if suppuration should commence now it would be less dangerous than on yesterday. It is expected that if suppuration sets in it will be to-morrow or Wednesday. It may probably be delayed still another day. When its prevention is no longer possible in the opinion of the surgeons, the pus will be liberated by an incision. This will be the most severe test the patient will have undergone during the last two weeks. It has been a steady fight between the coming on of this crisis and the toning up of the President's stomach. Dr. Boynton, when asked what the result would probably be of such an incision in the neck, replied that it was impossible to tell what that end would be ; that it would be possible for the inflammation to extend to the interior of the ear and destroy that organ, and that it might seriously affect the bones of the face in the vicinity of the irritation, and further than this, there were other possibilities which it was needless to suggest. Dr. Bliss gives it as his opinion to-day that they have the swelling of the face pretty well in hand, and don't anticipate any serious results from it. He

thinks that it will suppurate to-morrow or day after. Dr. Bliss admits that the only danger appearing at present is that the President may die of exhaustion after the operation, in case the stomach can't be made strong enough to counteract the natural drain by the double suppuration of the wound and the proposed incisions of the neck. He thinks, however, that the President's stomach has greatly improved in the last twelve hours, and that he will be able to master the difficulties as they severally appear. He is as confident as ever that the President will pull through, notwithstanding all the complications of the case. Dr. Bliss says that while the case is quite critical and serious, he has seen a great many cases equally as serious during the war, where men lay for months upon their backs with just such complications, and have yet in the end recovered. He feels by no means discouraged, and believes that the President has still a good foundation for the hope which he expresses for his recovery."

A despatch sent by Captain Henry, to the friends of the President in Ohio, on the 20th of August, contains many interesting details of this period of his sickness, and is as follows:

"The improvement of the President has been more marked the past twenty-four hours, especially the tone of the stomach has improved, and this gives strength. Dr. Boynton has watched this feature of the case with the greatest care. The President has felt no sign of hunger for weeks until a trifle to-day. Even the wind has been favorable. During the past two days it has

not blown from the Kidwell bottoms, but has come fresh and bracing from the north. Mrs. Garfield has been not only hopeful and cheerful during the day, but appeared happy. I told her of little Abe and Irve at Lawnfield, some things they said about 'papa's illness.' I told her of their little sunbrowned hands and faces. The brave, womanly heart, that had stood the terrible strain for weeks, melted to think of her dear little boys at home, and papa and mamma away from home, but longing to be there. For three or four weeks previous to last Monday the President often spoke of home. He longed to be at his Lawnfield home; to be in Cleveland; to walk down Superior street, meeting and greeting old friends. He wanted to see Hiram, and Solon, and cousin Henry Boynton, and some of Aunt Alpha's Indian bread again, and pick wintergreens on the hill. He wanted to see Burke and Harry, Mary and Hettie, and a score of others. He wanted to be in the shade of the maples at Captain Henry's farm. He longed to be in Ohio, as he expressed it, 'On the old sod once more.' Thousands upon thousands of familiar friends would appear before him as he lay on his bed of pain. On Monday, however, the pulse went up to 130, a feeble flutter. Since then he has been too weak to think much about old times, scenes and faces.

"While he is decidedly better than a few days ago, he is feeble and wasted. Probably sixty pounds of flesh have gone in seven weeks. The bullet-hole was eleven and three-quarters inches deep, by actual measurement, this morning as they washed it out. His

strength is nearly wasted, but the little left has been increasing slowly and hopefully during the past two days. If he continues to improve I shall not consider him out of danger for some time. To-day is the forty-ninth since he was shot. He is forty-nine years old. I was troubled yesterday about to-day on account of the coincidence of these numerals. A score or more of his old friends will understand why. Twenty-five years ago he often said that he expected to die at thirty-three, the age of his father when he died. He passed thirty-three, and then thought he would die at forty-two, the number of his regiment. His mind, however, to-day was too weary to be troubled about the application of facts and numerals. His faculties, however, are quite active. When awake he is quick to see what is going on in the room. The grip of his hand is firm. He can hold a glass of water in his hand and carry it to his mouth without trembling. His voice has become natural since Monday. The pulse is firm, and his eyes brighter and more natural in expression."

The condition of the President on Tuesday, August 23d, was thus summed up by the correspondent we have so often quoted :

"The President has had a rather better day than was generally anticipated. The condition of the President was, it is true, a subject of grave anxiety to his surgeons, to his attendants, and to Mrs. Garfield, but not more so than it was yesterday, and not so much as on Sunday. On Sunday afternoon there was really greater reason for discouragement than at any time

since then, because there seemed then to be only a very faint hope that the patient's demoralized stomach could be brought to resume its functions. As soon as the President began to swallow food again, his condition, to that extent at least, became more hopeful. Without adequate nourishment death from exhaustion seemed inevitable, while with proper nourishment he might live. In a qualified sense, therefore, he was better this morning than he was Sunday night, although his general condition in the interval had not materially changed. He passed a quiet morning, taking nourishment frequently in the shape of beef juice, peptonized milk, and milk porridge, with an enema every five or six hours. Up to noon he had swallowed sixteen or seventeen ounces of liquid food, but there had been no indication of an increase in his strength, with the exception of a stronger and slightly improved pulse. The glandular swelling remained hard, and showed no change in size or appearance, and the amount of mucus secreted in the back part of the mouth was about the same as yesterday."

On the 24th of August the condition of the President had not materially changed. The correspondent of *The Times* wrote :

"The President began to-day very much as he began yesterday, without exhibiting any material change. From all accounts, however, it appeared that he passed a more comfortable night last night than the one immediately preceding it. There was no particular significance in the figures of the bulletin, the pulse remaining at 100, and the temperature somewhat above the normal, but

these figures were somewhat less discouraging than those of the previous morning. He had awakened several times in the night, and twice had asked for and was given food in small quantities, which he retained. It must not be understood that because the President asks for nourishment he has any natural hankering therefor, but it is rather from his desire to please the physicians and because he is fully aware of the importance of taking sufficient nourishment to keep himself up. It is pure pluck. At stated intervals he asks for food as if he were managing his own case, and was calculating the time which should elapse between the administration of nourishment and the capacity of his stomach to retain another dose. He complains, in fact, that his taste is all gone, and that he can scarcely tell the difference between one species of food and another. From this it must appear that the relish which is mentioned by his physicians is yet intangible. Last night was characterized by less indication of trouble from the mucus secretions in the throat and less difficulty in expelling the phlegm which has troubled him during the last few days. The one thing most important, the swelling of the parotid gland, remained stationary during the night, but about noon to-day there was a decided change. This change forms one of the most conspicuous features of to-day's history of the case.

"This forenoon the gland began to show symptoms of suppuration for the first time. Instead of being hard to the touch, it exhibited evidences of coming softness, and upon this a consultation of the doctors was held, and it was decided that it would be more

judicious to assist suppuration by an immediate incision than risk the driving of the pus out by some other channels. Some fear was expressed that it might take the direction of the ear. The noon bulletin gave no intimation of the prospective suppuration, but immediately after the issuance thereof an incision was made below and a little forward of the right ear, where the softening was manifest. There was no anæsthetic administered, and the patient is reported to have borne the operation very well, considering his low condition. There was an antiseptic spray of carbolic acid used upon the surface, and beyond the climbing of the pulse to 115, there were no perceptibly bad results from the cutting. The pulse shortly after fell back again to about 104 or 105. It is stated, unofficially, that the effect upon the President was less marked than that of any other of the several operations which have been performed. This, however, is probably due to the fact that the President is now in such a weak and emaciated condition that he is scarcely conscious of what is taking place. His ability to bear pain is not to be measured by the ordinary indications. Some days ago, as an example, when the investigation was made with the wound that resulted in the discovery of its depth of twelve and a-half inches, the President was actually in ignorance of the whole operation. The operation to-day was performed by Dr. Hamilton, at the request of the President. Contrary to the expectations of the doctors, but very little pus followed the operation, not more, it is said, than a couple of drops the size of common peas. It

is not thought necessary to put a drainage tube in, inasmuch as pressure on the outer surface at any time will force from the incision any accumulation of pus. At three o'clock in the afternoon it was found that the pulse had dropped to 104, at which it had stood in the noon bulletin, and that the President was suffering no serious inconvenience from the recent operation.

"The President is very anxious to be removed from the White House. He wants to go down the river or to Mentor. It is almost pitiable to contemplate him in his helpless state begging to be taken away. The physicians would take him in a minute if he could stand it. As it is they are seriously contemplating a removal as a last resort. The food which he takes does not build him up, and if he can only be got away a change of air may be beneficial. So serious has the matter become that, this afternoon, Dr. Agnew was telegraphed to attend an immediate consultation on the subject. Dr. Agnew telegraphed in reply that he would leave at once, and would like to meet the other surgeons upon his arrival."

The consultation was held at ten o'clock, and resulted in a decision not to remove the President, the surgeons not deeming him strong enough to bear the fatigue of removal. Nevertheless, the necessity for removal to a more bracing atmosphere was recognized, and it was resolved to make the attempt at the earliest possible moment.

On the 25th signs of a new relapse began to manifest themselves, and on the 26th the patient

grew steadily worse, until the question of life or death seemed to hang upon the occurrences of a few hours.

A letter from Washington, written on the 26th of August, said :

“This has been the saddest day of the many sad days since the one exciting event of the 2d of July. Had the morning bulletin announced the death of the President the public depression and gloom could scarcely have been greater. The alarm was taken up at break of day, and the national capital has been wrought up to fever heat. From the first intelligence received from the Executive Mansion the day has been one unbroken era of rumors, fears, alarms and feverish excitement.

“The report was early circulated that the President was actually dead, and some expected the official announcement to be made to that effect. When the bulletin came, however, it showed about as satisfactory a state of affairs as prevailed last night.

“In the face of the discouraging bulletins and other information, the doctors kept a stiff upper lip and succeeded in rallying the hopes of the panic-stricken occupants of the White House. Dr. Bliss came out of the surgeons' room about 9.30 this morning and telephoned his wife that the President was a little better than last night. In reply to interrogations he said that the President's pulse this morning was less frequent and that the parotid swelling had broken into the right ear and was discharging through that orifice. The patient's mind was clear and he conversed rationally with the

surgeons about the condition of the inflamed gland. He partook of food, which seemed to be grateful to him, and his general condition appeared to be a little improved. The doctor expressed himself as hopeful that the swollen gland would be relieved by the discharge through the ear, and that he would pull through the day without much change.

"All the members of the Cabinet were at the White House unusually early to-day. Most of them were accompanied by their wives, and remained in the private part of the house off and on during the day. None of them were very hopeful, though towards noon they expressed themselves as having regained some confidence since the early part of the day. This confidence was not of long duration. Increasing dangerous symptoms of the afternoon brought consternation to those who were catching at straws. The gathering at the White House for the noon bulletin was unusually large. The talking in the private secretary's room went on in undertones. The crowd got impatient as the bulletin was delayed for some minutes. As usual there were those on hand to say that the delay was the sign of a bad bulletin. This impression was strengthened by the recollection that usually it is known beforehand what the general character of the medical announcement will be, and that to-day there was not the slightest thing known about it before its promulgation. There was a rapid break for down-stairs with the bulletins as they were distributed. Sergeant Dinsmore has to stand at the stairs and check the stampede of the bulletin-holders to prevent too much noise being

made in the hurry to get out of the house with the bulletins. The bulletin was depressing, as had been anticipated. The pulse had gone up ten beats since morning. The temperature had gone up nearly a tenth, and there was no improvement in the respiration. This had the effect to add to the discouragement everywhere. It was the first really bad bulletin that the doctors have issued, and it showed that the doctors themselves were beginning to weaken in confidence. It being the first bulletin that carried with it alarm on its face, the depression was more widespread than if there had been similar bulletins previously. The words 'Nevertheless we regard his condition as critical' looked ominous. It looked as if the President cannot recover and that his death is only a question of time. The doctors do not give any tangible hope, but they do not by any means say that they give the patient up.

"As your correspondent passed through the gates of the White House grounds this evening and elbowed his way through the surging mass of humanity that stood patiently waiting the latest intelligence from the sick chamber, he was suddenly grasped as if by a vise. Turning, he saw a broad-shouldered, roughly-dressed fellow, whose ill-appearance was somewhat redeemed by a frank, open countenance.

"'Can't you give me some news from the President to carry to my folks down in Virginia? I'm going home on the evening train, and I'd like something encouraging to tell the boys.'

"He was told that the President was actually hover-

ing over the brink of the grave and might not possibly live out the night.

“‘Dash it!’ he said, bringing the full weight of his heavy hand on the correspondent’s shoulder, while his honest eyes filled with tears. ‘I didn’t vote for Garfield. I didn’t want to see him President and did all I could to defeat him, but do you know, sir,’ and his voice trembled with emotion, ‘I’d give my right arm at this minute for the satisfaction of knowing he would ultimately recover. I’m a Virginian and a Democrat to the core, but in this hour of his affliction I’m a true-blue Garfield man, and I mean it when I say I would make any sacrifice short of death to restore that noble fellow to life again.’

“There was nothing in the incident beyond what is here written, but it is interesting as showing the universal affection for and sympathy with Garfield which pervades all classes, be their religion or politics the very antipodes of his.”

Saturday, August 27th—the dreaded Saturday—came with the most alarming signs.

“It appears,” says the correspondent of *The Times*, “that the doctors noticed that a startling change had occurred in the patient at about five o’clock. They saw upon examination that his pulse had suddenly become very feeble and fluttering, while the breath came in quick, sharp, successive gasps. Springing at once to the rescue, the surgeons in the adjoining room were hastily called, and the first battle of the day began in the very presence of death. There was a choking in the throat, produced by the mucus gather-

ing, the exhaustion of the patient being such that he could not throw it off. This was accompanied by a frightful pulse, which was of a very feeble character. There was a clutching at the bed clothes and incoherent words, which indicated an alarming crisis. The doctors grappled with the case, and, by assisting to clear the throat with brandy and administering the same stimulant by enemata, succeeded in quieting the patient; but the effort appeared to take away what little vitality was left, and the pulse grew quicker and more feeble, and the respiration rose to an alarming height. It seemed for a moment that immediate death was threatened. Consternation followed among the doctors and communicated itself to the attendants. Some of these ran for Mrs. Garfield, who had thrown herself on her couch in the next room, undressed and worn-out by the nights and days of weary watching. She sprang to her feet as if by instinct, and was at the bedside in a moment."

The efforts of the physicians to rally the President were successful, and during the day he managed to regain something of his lost strength. But the case was still desperate in the extreme, and the sufferer's life continued to hang by a thread.

"The President," said *The Times'* correspondent, writing on the same day, "realizes that he is in an extremely critical condition, but does not give up by any means. Mrs. Garfield is the only member of his family allowed to see the President. Neither Harry nor James nor Miss Mollie are allowed in the room. They are all at the house, however. As Private Sec-

retary Brown puts it: 'The case has not yet reached that point where it is necessary for the children to see the President.' Mr. Brown saw the President for the last time two weeks ago. To-day none but Mrs. Garfield, the physicians, and the regular attendants, General Swaim, Colonel Rockwell, Dr. Boynton, and Mrs. Edson have been with him. Captain Henry, and Joseph Rudolph, the President's brother-in-law, arrived to-night on the same train from Ohio. They made a quick trip, having been summoned by telegraph last night. The two elder boys will not be brought from Mentor, at least until after the President's death. Mrs. Garfield has requested this when the question was broached to her. It would do no good, and only add to her troubles by making it more distressing even than at present. She has now bravely made up her mind to endure the worst that fate has in store for her. The doctors broke the news to her last night as gently as possible, but her experience of the morning has made the terrible reality seem nearer. She is too sensible a woman to place much faith upon the temporary rally of this afternoon, and the doctors cautioned her against entertaining too much confidence in any temporary favorable symptoms. These fluctuations were anticipated, and could not be regarded as any decided encouragement. Notwithstanding these cautionary words, hope was again revived in a good many breasts late in the day, based on the more favorable reports that the President might even yet pull through in safety. Colonel Rockwell and General Swaim actively distributed words of comfort to the des-

pendent, and did much to restore a feeling of encouragement.

“Reports from the surgeons’ room at nine o’clock to-night were to the effect that there had been no particular change in the President’s condition, but that his symptoms continued to show slight improvement. At about that hour the President said to Mrs. Garfield, who was sitting by his bedside, that he would like a piece of milk toast. She replied that if the surgeons had no objections she would get it for him. Dr. Bliss, upon being consulted, said it would do no harm if the condition of the President’s parotid gland would allow him to move his jaws enough to eat it. Mrs. Garfield thereupon prepared the toast carefully herself, and the patient ate with apparent relish and enjoyment a piece about half as large as a man’s hand, moving his jaws with less difficulty than was anticipated. This taking of solid food for the first time in about two weeks is regarded by the President’s attendants as a favorable indication, and has strengthened a little more the hope expressed this afternoon by Colonel Rockwell and General Swaim.”

We have referred to the sympathy manifested for the wounded President by the sovereigns of the old world, and especially by the Queen of England. On the 27th the following despatch was received at the State Department at Washington :

“LONDON, *August 27.*

“BLAINE, Secretary, Washington :

“I have just received from her Majesty the Queen at Balmoral a telegram in these words: ‘I am most

deeply grieved at the sad news of the last few days, and would wish my deep sympathy to be conveyed to Mrs. Garfield.' "LOWELL, Minister."

To this Secretary Blaine sent the following reply :

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, *August 27.*

"LOWELL, Minister, London :

"I have submitted to Mrs. Garfield your telegram conveying the kindly message from her Majesty the Queen. Mrs. Garfield is constantly by her husband's bedside and does not give up all hope of his recovery. Her request is that you will return to the Queen her most sincere thanks and express her heartfelt appreciation of the constant interest and tender sympathy shown by her Majesty toward the President and his family in their deep grief and most painful suspense.

"BLAINE, Secretary."

The improvement in the President's condition continued throughout Sunday, the 28th of August. The incidents of the day are thus summed up by the correspondent of the *New York World* :

"At noon the patient's condition was represented to be one of continued improvement. At intervals of two hours nourishment by the mouth in the form of beef tea and milk gruel, prepared by Mrs. Garfield's hands, has been administered to the President with good effect. Soon after noon he was given a little chicken broth and appeared to enjoy it. Secretary Hunt arrived at 12.30 o'clock, and buried himself in the Cabinet-room. A little before one o'clock Dr. Hamilton showed himself for a moment. He was asked for his opinion. He answered without hesitation : ' We have passed the breakers and are now afloat.' A few moments later

Dr. Agnew, in response to a similar question, said: 'The President has more than an even chance for recovery.' The second bulletin was issued at one P. M. It was regarded as exceedingly favorable. At 1.15 P. M. Secretary Blaine and Postmaster-General James arrived together in the latter's carriage. They both looked jubilant, and expressed themselves enthusiastically in regard to the turn affairs had taken.

"At two o'clock the President was sleeping quietly, and General Swain and Colonel Rockwell, who were watching with him, pronounced his sleep as more natural than any which he had enjoyed for several days. Drs. Bliss, Hamilton, Agnew and Reyburn were in the Cabinet-room, and the face of each was radiant with hope. Dr. Bliss looked especially happy. He has been called an optimist because, from the day when the President was shot until Friday last, he obstinately maintained his view that the patient would recover. On Friday noon, for the first time, he lost hope, and publicly announced that he feared for the President's life. The remarkable change which has taken place in the sufferer's condition since yesterday at noon has confirmed all the former opinions of Dr. Bliss, and from a thoroughly despondent man he has become once more an enthusiastic prophet of good to come. His eyes fairly beamed with joy as the afternoon wore away and no further dangerous symptoms appeared. Dr. Hamilton, too, showed in his face that with every succeeding hour his hopes grew higher and higher. Private Secretary Brown flitted in and out of the Cabinet-room, and his general smile broadened after every consulta-

tion with the surgeons. This is the first Sunday in many weeks that the occupants of the White House have shown by their actions and words, that they have real grounds for hope of the recovery of the President. The patient awoke soon after two o'clock. Mrs. Garfield was at his side, and Drs. Bliss and Hamilton were sitting in the room. His mind was perfectly clear, and he recognized his heroic wife with a smile and the cheering words, 'I feel better and stronger.' Liquid nourishment was given to him, and the stomach retained it without the least difficulty.

"After he had partaken of this he turned to Dr. Bliss, and, fixing his eyes upon him in a wistful gaze, said, 'I wonder if I could see Mollie?' Dr. Bliss, thinking that in the apparently fine condition of his patient the sight of his daughter could do him no harm and might do him good, said that he had no objections, and Miss Mollie was sent for. The brave little girl, who has shown a heroism almost equal to her mother's in the trying ordeal of the last eight weeks, entered the sick-chamber, from which she has been excluded for several days. She approached her father quietly, and, stooping over the bed, kissed him very softly.

"'How is my little girl to-day?' asked the President.

"'I am so happy, papa,' said Miss Mollie. 'Do you feel happy?'

"'I feel much better,' was the answer of General Garfield. This was all that passed between father and daughter. Dr. Bliss motioned to Miss Mollie, and she slipped quietly from the room. Young James Garfield

was then allowed to enter. He simply grasped the hand of his father, and passed from the sick-chamber with the tears streaming down his cheeks. It had been intended to allow Harry also to see his father, but the interviews with Mollie and James had evidently had a bad effect upon the President, and Dr. Bliss gave orders that no new faces should be shown to the sufferer."

On the 29th of August the improvement in the President continued, as was shown by the official bulletins.

The Times' correspondent wrote, on the same day :

"At the morning dressing of the President's wounds the parotid swelling was found to have diminished sensibly in size since yesterday morning. There had been a plentiful discharge of pus during the night from the three openings. Another yellow spot was discovered on the side of the face this morning, which, when pricked, permitted a free discharge of pus from another pus pocket. Dr. Boynton, who was in the sick-room the greater part of last night, says the President passed a good night, sleeping most of the time. His sleep was more natural than that of any night during the past week. During the intervals of wakefulness his mind was pretty clear. Once, about two A.M., when awake and while taking some nourishment, he remarked to Dr. Boynton, evidently referring to his several relapses: 'I wonder how many more stations I will have to stop at!' The President, Dr. Boynton said, looked better and felt better this morning."

On the 30th the President continued to hold his own,

and also made a substantial gain. Said the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*: "The President has been gaining to-day; a day's progress has been made in the healing of the wound, and in the softening and subsidence of the swollen cheek. No one should expect an increase of physical strength at this stage of the case. His stomach has been performing its functions in a satisfactory manner, and no new weakness or disorder has manifested itself. The brain retains its normal clearness. A new incision was made this morning into the inflammation upon the parotid gland, and the matter discharged from it was satisfactory, both in character and quantity. Renewed anxiety was created by the rise in the fever symptoms, as they were disclosed by the morning and noon bulletins, but the President's physicians asserted without reserve that anxiety was unnecessary and that all was going well. They said that the fluctuations were necessary accompaniments of progress in disorders of this kind and that a speedy subsidence was to be expected. The evening bulletin proved to be a fulfilment of their predictions. The pulse, which had reached 116 at noon, had subsided to 110, while the temperature and respiration compared favorably with evenings in the recent past which had been accounted good evenings. All seems to be going well with the President, and the most favorable of the predictions which have been made in regard to him since he was shot may be repeated to-night with entire safety.

"At nine o'clock this evening Dr. Bliss came out of the sick-room, where he had been for a few moments after his return from his evening ride.

“ ‘How is your patient to-night, Doctor?’ was the first inquiry addressed to him.

“ ‘He has passed a better day than yesterday, in spite of the intense heat.’

“ ‘Have you varied the treatment any to-day?’

“ ‘No, except that we have resumed stimulating enemata; we have been obliged to do this. The effect has been seen to-day in the improved pulse and temperature. He has to be stimulated. We find these enemata bring him up and make him comfortable, and give volume to his pulse. We have tried four or five times to discontinue them, but have as often been compelled to resume them.’

“ ‘How long will it be necessary to administer them?’

“ ‘For four or five days, I should say, at the least. There can be no very marked improvement in his condition within that period.’

“ ‘How is the glandular difficulty to-night?’

“ ‘The swelling has lessened, and is becoming soft. The discharge is liberal and the pus is of an improved character. There will probably be some sloughing of the cellular tissues.’

“ ‘Is such a sloughing what was feared so much a few days ago?’

“ ‘No; this is quite a different affair. The sloughing of the cellular tissues of the parotid gland means simply that the walls between the cells will slough and fall away and be expelled as pus. This will not involve any destruction of cuticle and will not leave a scar, but the effect will be to reduce the swelling immediately

and relieve the pressure which has given so much trouble. We want just such a sloughing as this promises to be. There has been already, since the new incision which I made this morning, a very free discharge of pus and much relief has been afforded. The skin, too, looks very much better, the dark purple appearance having passed away.'

"'Is there any improvement in the appetite?'

"'Well, it is hardly correct to speak of an appetite. He seems to take his food with some relish. We give it every two hours, and about in the same quantities as yesterday. Sometimes he expresses a desire for some particular article of food, as in the case of the milk toast, but we give him about what we think he can assimilate and no more. To-day we made the intervals between the administrations of his food a little longer, not because his stomach rebelled, but because there were certain indications that he did not take it with relish, and we deemed it advisable to create a relish by a little enforced abstinence, besides giving the stomach a little rest.'

"'Is there any improvement in the President's physical strength?'

"'That question is difficult to answer so as to be perfectly understood. In one sense, no; in another, yes. There is probably no increased muscular strength, such as ability to lift his head or move his limbs, but there is an improvement not sensible by such tests, which is very important after all. When the patient is in the subsiding stage of a malady, he moves into one of repair and greater ease. His condition is restful, and to that extent he is gaining strength.'"

On the 31st of August the President maintained the vantage ground he had gained, and on the 10th of September his condition was still farther improved.

The correspondent of the *New York World*, writing on the 1st of September, thus describes the daily scenes about the White House :

“So much has been written about the daily life at the White House that almost everybody is more or less familiar with the routine of affairs there. The President lies in a room in the centre of what is known as the family end of the mansion, and it is no more possible for an outsider to approach that room than for him to get at Guiteau in his strong and well-guarded prison. Hence the reports that have from time to time appeared of correspondents having seen the President may be set down as worthless. The President's own sons have not seen him for some time; his Private Secretary does not see him, and the members of the Cabinet are not more fortunate. The extreme verge to which privileged persons, not members of the household, can go, is to the Cabinet-room, and another room and a corridor must be passed before the President's room can be reached. But particulars of what occurs in the patient's room are reported by the physicians and the attendants, so that a very fair idea may be obtained of what life is inside the private part of the house. Except the hall and the East room—the state reception room—the whole of the first floor of the house is given up to the private uses of the family. The second and top story is divided into two parts, one the business end, the other the family end of the White

House. The Cabinet-room is in the centre of the building, between these two ends. From the hall down-stairs there are two stairways, one leading to the apartments of the Private Secretary, the other to those of the family. Thus, except in the hall down-stairs, the family, the Cabinet members and the physicians and attendants do not come in contact with the public, except when for business or other purposes they have occasion to visit the Private Secretary's room. General James drops into Mr. Brown's room for a chat nearly every evening, and the 'Doctor of the Cabinet,' as the Attorney General is called, is also a frequent visitor.

"The routine of the White House is monotonous in the extreme. The scenes are every day the same, the incidents do not vary, the same questions are asked and the same answers are given a thousand times a day. Outside the gate a soldier paces up and down a straight line from the gate to the curbing. The only difference in him is that sometimes he carries a sabre, sometimes a musket; sometimes his uniform is gay, with red trimming, and sometimes it is bare of that ornament. He always wears a cork helmet, and he always walks in the same imperturbable manner before the line of people idly staring in at the gate, eagerly waiting for the next bulletin. Sometimes, late at night, the soldier leans against the post, and chats with the stragglers who keep up the vigil until far into the night. Inside the gate stands a policeman, whose duty it is to inspect the passes of those entering the gate. On the lawn, to the left of the drive, the tents of the military detailed

to guard the White House were pitched. They have been removed to the rear yard of the mansion, two hundred yards beyond the crown of the slope that begins on a line with the house itself and rises gradually back, finally receding into the Potomac marshes, where the tall weeds grow and malaria is bred by the hot sun. In that part of the slope which forms the rear of the White House grounds, the grass and flowerbeds are kept fresh and beautiful by much watering, but elsewhere the grass is dry and dusty; even the leaves of the trees in front of the mansion have turned prematurely dry, and are dropping to the ground as though smitten by frost.

“In the White House portico a crowd can generally be found. Within the doors two attendants keep watch day and night. In the morning, just before the issuing of the first bulletin, the crowd gathers, numbering frequently as many as a hundred. They can go no farther than the hall, all the doors beyond that being closed. Even persons having passes to Secretary Brown’s room are not allowed to go up-stairs while the bulletins are being issued. The people who come here are mostly members of the press, but a large number of messengers are sent from the various departments and from the business houses in the city. Others come to get for their own personal satisfaction the latest news about the patient. Yesterday an urchin, with tattered clothes and hat and bare feet, sat in the front window of the house of the President of the United States, while another, a still smaller one, stood on the floor beneath, and, with as much intent-

ness as one of the President's surgeons would display in making an incision into the glandular swelling, endeavored, by means of a pocket-knife, to extract a splinter from the sole of his bare-footed comrade, who bore the painful operation as stoically as the President bears the knife. In addition to the usual loungers about the entrance, there is usually to be found there a doctor's buggy, a saddle horse or two, hitched to the railing of the portico, and the carriage of some prominent official. The President's carriage is driven up once or twice a day, and the intensely black driver inquires from his box if any one wishes to go out for an airing. When he came up this afternoon he asked how the President was, and on being told the good news, chuckled and said: 'Now, what do he mean by dat? Do he 'spec we got nuffin' to do but to keep on gettin' 'larmed about him? I s'pose he'll be ridin' behind dese yare bays 'fo' long.' And laughing all over, the coal-black Jehu cracked his whip and drove down the avenue.

"After the morning bulletin is issued, Secretary Brown's rooms are opened to those having passes, and then the morning dressing of the President takes place. Then the family and the attendants breakfast. As the time approaches for issuing the noon bulletin, one or two members of the Cabinet generally come in and go up-stairs by the private way. Secretary Lincoln is generally on hand at this hour, and on days when exciting news is expected all the Cabinet members come in. The bulletin is issued, the crowd disperses, and Secretary Brown's room is again opened.

The newspaper men hang listlessly around the portico, and wait for the physicians to emerge. The afternoon wears away, and the visitors come in slowly until about half-past five o'clock, when the crowd again assembles in Secretary Brown's room. The physicians come in for their evening consultation, and the bulletin is issued. Then a physician or an attendant visits Secretary Brown's room, and the sick-room story is told. It is generally bare of incident, and a reporter of those peculiar papers which live upon sensations has hard work to get even so slender a fact as that on which peculiar sensations are usually based. Since the President has begun to mend, there have been many comical incidents of the sick-room related not serviceable for the papers. Generally all that is said is that the President is cheerful, that Mrs. Garfield is as plucky as ever, and that everything is going well. The unpleasant incidents do not often reach the ears of the public, and it is just as well that they do not. An occasional tale of disagreeable bickering finds its way outside. After the last sudden rise of fever it was said in some quarters that a mistake had been made in making the last incision in the neck of the President, and that an awkward cut had severed a blood-vessel, which it took some time and much trouble to close so as to stop the bleeding. This may or may not have been true, but the pulse certainly ran up very fast yesterday, and subsided as suddenly. Another incident of the sick-room tells its own pathetic story. The President, who has borne everything so bravely, is said to have exclaimed, after some painful

operation was finished, 'After all, there is liberty in being let alone!' It has all along been said that the President's magnificent physique has alone brought him through this terrible strain. No doubt this is largely true, but it can hardly be said that the President was in perfect condition when he was shot. He had just passed through a severe political campaign, and was then in the midst of unusual and unhappy cares in his official position. Add to these ills the anxiety he must have constantly felt over his wife's severe and protracted illness, and it will be seen that the President was not in the best condition to stand a desperate wound. That he has yet much to fight against is very certain, and it is equally certain that there is very little strength left with which to make the fight.

"After the evening dressing has been made and Dr. Bliss has given the President his sponge-bath, the patient generally dozes, Mrs. Garfield sitting by the bed. At nine o'clock Secretary Blaine arrives and gets the data for his cable despatch to Minister Lowell. The other Cabinet members arrive earlier with their wives. At half-past nine Secretary Brown closes his quarters, and the visitors depart. The Cabinet members remain later, not unfrequently until eleven o'clock. When they have gone the White House is closed, although there is always a door-keeper at the front door. Then General Swaim, or Colonel Rockwell, or Dr. Reyburn, or Dr. Boynton takes his turn at watching with the President."

On the 2d of September the events of the day were

reported as follows by the Associated Press correspondent :

“The most which can fairly be said with regard to the President’s case to-day is that the patient still holds all the ground which he gained earlier in the week and that his symptoms to-night are favorable. His pulse has been lower and steadier to-day than yesterday, and in the opinion of his attendants he has relished his food better than at any time heretofore ; but as far as the main features of the case are concerned, there has been little if any change. He is still very weak, and in the opinion of the majority of the surgeons, is not gaining much strength ; the parotid swelling continues to suppurate and discharge freely, but has not begun to heal, and the wound remains practically in the same condition in which it was three or four days ago. Of course, the fact that the glandular complication has nearly disappeared, while the patient’s general condition has been fully maintained, may be said, in a certain sense, to be a positive gain, since one of the obstacles in the way of convalescence has thus been removed, but this is not equivalent to saying that convalescence has actually begun.

“Dr. Bliss said to-night, in reference to the President’s removal : ‘He ought not to remain an hour longer than necessary, because September, in Washington, is a bad month. Although nothing has yet been decided upon, I think it is probable that we shall take him to Long Branch by rail. The preponderance of opinion seems to be in favor of that course. Mr. George W. Childs has offered us his cottage there, and

we have had several other similar offers. As far as his nerves are concerned, the President will bear the journey well enough. He is not at all nervous, and he expresses great confidence in his ability to travel as far as that without over-fatigue or injury.'

" 'Do you think,' asked the reporter, 'that he could be removed now without danger?'

" 'No, I don't think he could. If it were proposed to move him to-morrow I should vote against it, but if he continues to improve as he has done in the past three or four days, I think he can be safely removed soon.'

" Dr. Hamilton expressed a desire this afternoon to make a closer acquaintance with the Potomac flats, about which he had heard so much, than he had hitherto been able to do, and at his request Colonel Crook, of the Executive Mansion, took him in his carriage about three P. M. and drove him down the left bank of the river. Upon reaching a point nearly opposite the monument, Dr. Hamilton inquired, with an expression of surprise and disgust, 'What smells so?'

" 'That's the flats,' replied Colonel Crook.

" 'Do they always have such an odor as this?' asked the doctor.

" 'They have had every summer since I came to Washington,' said Colonel Crook.

" 'Well' responded the doctor, 'We must get the President out of this. It's enough to kill a well man in a week.'

On the 3d the President continued to hold his own, and on the 4th his condition was encouraging, as the official bulletins showed.

On the 3d the surgeons in attendance on the President decided to remove him to Long Branch at the earliest possible moment. The officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company caused a special car to be prepared for his use on the journey, and placed all the facilities of the road at the disposal of the distinguished sufferer and his attendants. It was felt on all sides that the journey involved a risk, but it was also recognized that it offered the only possible chance of the President's recovery. On the third of September the correspondent of the *The New York Times* wrote :

“The fact that Saturdays have, as a general rule, been unfavorable days for the President excited apprehensions in the minds of many persons in relation to his condition to-day, and, in consequence, the morning bulletin was anxiously awaited. Its appearance quieted all such fears, and subsequent reports from the sick-room gave promise that this would be as favorable a day for the President as any of the present week. During the early hours of last night the President was somewhat restless, which caused higher pulse, but after midnight he fell asleep and rested comfortably, and this morning was quite as well as at the same time yesterday. This restlessness was not attributable to any particular symptom, but was the natural result of causes incidental to his condition. Compared with yesterday morning, there was a rise of four beats in pulse, but otherwise there was no material difference. For breakfast, in addition to milk toast, he was given the breasts of two or three reed birds, which he chewed,

swallowing the juice and rejecting the meat. This change of diet was very acceptable to the President, who remarked to Dr. Bliss that 'the reed birds were not only delicious, but Blissful.' The noon bulletin showed no change compared with the figures of that issue in the morning, the pulse continuing at 104, with temperature and respiration normal. Those who believe in the periodicity of the recurrence of unfavorable symptoms were satisfied, after reading the brief announcement of the midday bulletin, that nothing was to be apprehended to-day, and the evening bulletin fully confirmed this belief. The President not only passed a good day, but his condition at 6.30 o'clock was better than at the same hour last night, and since 6.30 o'clock there have been no unfavorable indications.

"The fever that has been making its appearance toward midnight during the present week is attributed by some persons to malarial influences. While the surgeons will not admit that this is the case, they do not deny it, and the great anxiety manifested by them to get the President away from Washington, and the fact that the stench from the Potomac flats can now be detected at the White House, gives color to this theory. Dr. Hamilton, who personally visited the flats yesterday to ascertain their real character, is reported to have said that if the President remained at the White House during the present month the effect of the bad odors from the flats would be very serious upon him, if not fatal. To-day it was noticed that the surgeons and some members of the Cabinet were busy in per-

fecting arrangements looking to the early removal of the President.

“At the suggestion of the Governor of Pennsylvania, the Governors of several of the other States appointed a day of fasting, prayer and supplication to Almighty God to restore the suffering President to health. In some of the States the day observed was the 6th of September, in others the 8th. In all the people assembled heartily, and sent up their earnest prayers to God that he would mercifully restore their beloved ruler to health and strength. No more touching incident of the whole sickness of the President occurred than this gathering of the American people to humbly ask God’s aid in his recovery.

“On the 5th the President passed another very restless night, his pulse fluctuating rapidly in evidence of his great physical weakness, and his mind wandering constantly to the subject of his removal. The latter appeared to disturb him a great deal. He would constantly revert to the details of the arrangements as if he were conducting the campaign on his own account. It was impossible for the surgeons to quiet him or to prevent him from discussing the arrangements. His sleep was very much broken and he got no real rest until after midnight. With his sleep the pulse went down considerably, and remained so until morning, when it was 102. The first thing this morning, when he awoke, he inquired of Dr. Bliss if this was the last day in the White House. Dr. Bliss endeavored to quiet him, assuring him that he was doing well at present, and the removal would take place as soon as it

was thought advisable from his condition. The President was very impatient at this and said: 'No, no; I don't want any more delay,' and again impressed upon the doctors the importance of getting out of there as soon as possible. This has preyed upon his mind evidently all day, in consequence of which his temperature and pulse have been at a feverish height ever since this morning. In fact, the pulse has been steady at an unusual height all day, more remarkably so than at any time since he was shot. This is attributed to the President's restlessness about getting off; as it was continually apparent to him from Mrs. Garfield's preparations that they were getting ready for the trip.

"The Garfield boys started for Williams College at ten o'clock, accompanied by Don Rockwell and their tutor. Before leaving they were accorded an interview with their father. It is said to have been a very affecting scene. The President did his best to cheer them up, and said that he would yet live to see them honored men. The boys stood it pretty well for a little, but the tears stole down their cheeks as they saw the wasted form of their father and listened to his feeble voice. He had evidently changed a good deal since they had seen him last. He took them each by the hand, although he could scarcely raise his own, and blessed them, and told them whatever came to do their duty to themselves and those who bore them. The boys immediately went within, embraced their tearful mother once again and came down-stairs. It was noticed that Jimmy's eyes were red, and they cast fur-

tive glances at the huge covered express, with its spring mattress at the bottom, which stands before the door. It was dreadfully significant of the morrow. Then they were whirled away in the family carriage. It was a very unsatisfactory parting."

The 5th of September was a busy day at the White House, and was spent in preparations for the removal of the President to Long Branch the next morning. "The situation to-night," wrote *The Times'* correspondent, "is fraught with more than usual interest. The old crowds surround the evening bulletins and discuss the chances of the removal of the President with much of the eagerness displayed in the earlier part of the recent relapse. The anxiety and excitement incidental to the important change contemplated is at its height. At the White House there has been a subdued bustle of preparation going on all day. A number of packing boxes littered the yard below at a very early hour, and the disposition of these packing boxes enchained the attention of the curious newspaper fraternity who hung about with hungry eyes. Most of these were evidently for the doctors, whose surgical instruments and medicine cases occupied a good deal of room."

A letter from Long Branch, written the same day, said:

"Attorney General MacVeagh arrived here this evening as the advance guard for the removal of the President from the Washington malaria to the invigorating atmosphere of the sea-shore. He has had general charge of the arrangements for the delicate and perilous task, and has perfected them in the most satisfac-

tory manner. The car prepared for the President surprised even the critical surgeons by the completeness of its appointments. It was prepared at Altoona under the immediate direction of Mr. Ely, superintendent of motive power, and much of its marvellous adaptation to the peculiar wants of a prostrated invalid is due to Mr. Ely. In short, everything has been done that ingenuity and boundless resources can do to make the removal of the President as nearly comfortable and safe as possible. The car is thoroughly provided against changes of temperature, and it can be heated or cooled at will, and everything, even to the shades of light, has been carefully considered and arranged to lessen the strain upon the prostrated President.

"The President will be taken in the bed he now occupies to the Washington depot in an ambulance wagon, and drawn gently over the asphalt pavement, and in the car the bed will rest on buck-boards crossing the car, which have been carefully prepared and tested to give just the necessary amount of elasticity. The train will be run, as agreed upon to-day by President Roberts and Attorney General MacVeagh, at about thirty miles an hour on a straight road, and very slow on curves. In case the President shall exhibit exhaustion from travel, the train will be stopped at some favorable locality for pure air and as far as possible from public intrusion. Hundreds of men are now working on the temporary track, from the main line near Elberon station to the private cottage on the Elberon grounds to be occupied by the President, and the new track will be completed by ten o'clock to-morrow.

It will extend to the very door on the sea side of the cottage, and the President's bed will be easily transferred to his room.

“The Francklyn cottage, which is to be the President's home while here, has been carefully prepared for his arrival, and everything is now in readiness except the arrangement of the room he is to occupy. Attorney General Wayne MacVeagh and Mrs. MacVeagh, who arrived here to night, will attend to that, although it is probable the judgment of Mrs. Garfield, and perhaps the physicians, may have to be consulted as to whether the President shall be taken up-stairs or have quarters on the first floor. Most likely it will be left to the President himself, and the present understanding is that the fine large dining-room down-stairs will be suitably prepared so that he may be placed there immediately upon his arrival, and if he does not like it or the physicians disapprove of the location, he can be carried up-stairs afterwards, although such a transfer would necessarily be attended with some discomfort on account of the construction of the heavy oaken stairways, which have turnings at the landings and high balustrades, above which he would have to be lifted. The dining-room in question is a suitable apartment to be used for the President's sick chamber, but it has the disadvantage of being a little nearer the entrance, and unless extraordinary precautions were used the noises incidental to entering and leaving the cottage would reach the sufferer's ears. As so often happens with this style of cottage, there is no entry immediately in front. The central projecting

portion is enclosed, and has windows above, with a vine-laden balcony above that, then more windows, and above that the gabled roof.

"The entry is a little at one side, under the porte coche, and the doors are in two parts, so that the upper one may be readily opened and conversation easily exchanged, while the lower part remains closed. By this arrangement communication without any one outside coming in or any one inside going out is made an easy matter. Immediately within the vestibule is the hall, a high, wide apartment, with a fire-place, low tables, littered with curious things, and a few oddly-caparisoned chairs and an overhanging balcony. Of equal width with this hall and extending entirely back is the dining-room, the floor elevation of which is about two feet higher than the hall, and is approached by two easy landings, like a dais. These landings have pedestals and small articles of furniture in the corners, and an immense portiere of some heavy Persian stuff extends entirely across it, hung on rings, so that the two apartments may be isolated at pleasure, or preserved in an unbroken view. One corner contains a high old-fashioned clock. The hall and dining-room take up the whole depth of the cottage, which is probably fifty feet. Above the division where the portiere hangs there is a rack, such as is often seen on the top of old English mantel-pieces, which is filled with plates and pots and jugs and such odd fancies.

"The fire-place in the dining-room is very large and wide, with a very ornamental chimney-piece, also littered with curiosities, and the ceiling is lofty. It is

heavily panelled throughout with wood and cork. In places, as over the chimney-piece, the dark wood is in relieved panels, cut in whorl-shaped designs. The cork covering some sections of the walls is cut in small pieces of a great variety of shapes, cleverly set in place like Mosaic work. There is a curious dresser of hard wood built high in one corner, with projecting shelves, and odd nooks and corners, some open and some with doors. The floor is littered with rugs, little ones of crimson and black, and large ones of buff and chocolate, and the furniture is of that simple but artistic form sensibly conforming shape, design, and material to the purpose intended.

“The rear middle section opens upon a small veranda reached by two steps, and from there nothing can be seen save the sea. It overlooks the very edge of the bluff, which is so high as to hide the beach and bathing-houses below, and the land view at either side is cut off by projecting parts of the building, so that the endless ocean is the only object the eye encounters, and its breezes, whether from the east or south, are always available. This is the room which the President will almost certainly occupy at first, and will probably be his abode throughout his stay at Elberon.

“The only other room large enough or suited in other respects to receive him is the south chamber on the second floor. This is about twenty-five feet wide and fifteen feet deep, with an arched ceiling about twelve feet high in its highest part. It contains a very wide, low bedstead, elegantly covered. The

head of the bed is toward the north, and should the President occupy it he can have either the direct sea breeze from the left, or the south wind from immediately in front of him, both passing over balconies where they may be tempered by bamboo screens, which also shut out the sun when necessary, and admit nothing but the breeze. The room is elegantly furnished with quaint and pretty corner effects, but, as elsewhere throughout the house, there is an absence of everything gaudy or luxuriant. The whole house, outside and in, gives an idea of unlimited comfort without regard to fashionable display. The parlors have corner divans padded with figured silk cushions. The chairs are all made for comfort, and the screens, which are the handsomest articles in the house, are ornamented simply with shells and miniature fishes.

“The bath-rooms and closets are very large, and appear to have received even more care in their construction than other parts of the house. The kitchen and servants’ quarters are on the other side of the carriage-way, and entirely distinct. There are about twenty apartments in all, including an ample number of cozy sleeping-rooms to accommodate whatever number of persons there may be needed immediately near the sufferer. Fires were lighted yesterday, and all the flues and drafts tried and found to work well. A number of cots were put in to-day by C. T. Jones, who has thus far made all the necessary preparations, and been, in consequence, a busy man. Applications from persons living in and visiting surrounding cottages to view the preparations have had to be refused, and at

present the sole occupant of the cottage is a French maid.

“General Grant, George W. Childs, and Commodore Garrison have each tendered horses and carriages and attendants, to be at the constant command of the President’s party and the physicians, and the offer has been accepted. They will be very much needed, as this part of the Branch is a couple of miles away from the leading hotels, main post-office, stores and other places with which there will no doubt have to be frequent communication.”

On the morning of September 6th the surgeons decided to remove the President from Washington.

The public, or at least a good share of it, remained in the streets of Washington all through the night of the 5th. They refused to “risk the single chance of beholding the face of their beloved President once more. Many were walking the streets all night, while a good many had left orders to be called up in the early morning. It was not surprising, therefore, in view of this deep interest, that early dawn saw thousands of well-dressed people parading the streets and lounging about in the most eligible places on Pennsylvania avenue. With the first streak of dawn a body of police were seen slowly passing up the avenue, dropping a file here and a file there at every street crossing. They were accompanied by a large body of mounted police, who were stationed at the most frequented points along the route, and began to intimate the character of the proceedings by halting the stray carriage and putting a stop to the early market wagon.

The dawn had scarcely lifted its shadowy veil when mounted couriers went clattering down the street to insure that the orders for clearing the avenue were being carried out. A heavy cart loaded with saw-dust filled up the indentures in the worn pavement here and there, and banked over the several street railway crossings.

“Those who appeared upon the avenue in the vicinity of Sixth street saw that the railroad had extended itself completely across Pennsylvania avenue—a railroad with cross-ties, ballasted road-bed and rails complete, as if it had crawled out there during the night by some magic. On this railroad stood a train of cars, also large as life, and as wonderful to the eye in that position as a ship on dry land in some queer, unexpected spot. Around these cars and for a considerable distance up the avenue were stretched ropes to keep off the crowd. The ropes were garrisoned by numerous policemen on the inside. On the outside they were hard pressed by immense crowds of people. This was the break of day. A few minutes later the morning sun was announced by the usual gun at the arsenal of Greenleaf Point, being unable to announce itself by the morning haze and murky September atmosphere. The crowd had doubled in that short time, and in five minutes later it had quadrupled. The curious public seemed to have sprung suddenly from their beds and lined the principal streets in the city to witness the melancholy parade. The intersecting streets nearer the White House were lively with belated ones, who came hurrying toward the general thoroughfare, eager to get in line before the

procession moved. On the Fifteenth street corner a large crowd congregated, and in front of the White House gates the night watchers roused themselves from uneasy slumbers on the cold stone copings and began to strain their eyes towards the mansion within. They first saw the big covered express wagon standing there in front of the portico, as it had stood the night before.

“The first sign of life appeared in the throwing open of the White House doors. Then a carriage containing a couple of White House attachés, drove on the grounds. It was soon followed by one containing Secretary Blaine and Mrs. Blaine, while the other members of the Cabinet soon followed. It seemed but a quarter of an hour from the opening of the doors of the Executive Mansion before all was alive within the gates and everything betokened a hurried departure.

“The removal of the President took place soon after sunrise. There was just enough haze left to break the glare, and the air was soft and balmy. Perhaps no better moment could have been chosen so far as the weather was concerned. The arrangements for the removal were perfect. Every detail had been carefully planned beforehand and was carried out with military precision. Nothing had been forgotten, nothing had been miscalculated, and nothing, it may be said, went wrong. There was a slight hitch or two, but they were almost immaterial. It was precisely at 5.45 when the mounted scouts came clattering back up the avenue and reported that the way was clear. It was then Drs. Hamilton and Agnew appeared, and

behind them came the litter, borne between six strong men. The President was reclining on the same narrow couch on which he has passed so many, so very many, weary hours. It had new stretcher handles added at the corners and was borne with the utmost gentleness and precision. The President's body was concealed by white blankets, and he lay on a stout, coarse sheet, in which it had been the custom to change him from one bed to another.

"His face was exposed to the open air, uncovered, and such a face, so worn and sallow and pinched in expression. It had the ghastly hue of the grave. The beard is cropped short. The festering abscess in his neck was concealed by a thick wadding of cotton, which extended from the lower part of the neck to the root of the ear. His moustache was gone. The nose seemed dreadfully pinched and sharp and hooked like a sort of a claw. Yet with all this it was said on every hand that he did not look as bad as was anticipated. It is difficult to say what such people anticipated. Had he been in his grave clothes the President could have scarcely looked more a ghastly corpse. Even his eyes were set and glassy. A good many took him to have been asleep while being removed, but this is erroneous. Your correspondent saw him turn his eyes twice to look at one of his doctors near at hand and saw his lips move slightly, as if making some suggestion. It must have been a very feeble voice, for Dr. Bliss bent his ear very close down to catch the words.

"The President was borne on this litter down the main stairway in the central portion of the house, which

leads to the private apartments. It is a very broad staircase, and no trouble was experienced in turning the only angle. He was carried into the room known as the Blue Room, thence, by the way of the great glass doors, into the large ante-room. A temporary platform had been erected on the portico across the carriageway to the intervening wall that at once separates the roadway from the park and forms the support of the stone columns. Across this platform they gently took him, as gently and tenderly as a mother might carry her sickly child, and placed the couch within the wagon. On the bottom of the wagon was a spring mattress, consisting of canvas stretched over slats and spring coils. In addition to this medium for breaking any unexpected jolt, the attendants and doctors sat on the edge of the wagon box, with their feet on these springs, and the edge of the couch containing the sick man resting on their knees. There were Drs. Bliss and Reyburn and Boynton, and Colonels Rockwell and Corbin, and General Swaim, performing this manual labor of love. Drs. Bliss and Boynton and General Swaim each bore a large palm-leaf fan, with which they kept up a current of air. Dr. Bliss was plainly very much excited and nervous. In fact he was never before known to betray such a deep anxiety since the beginning. He held the patient's pulse under his finger all the time, and could be seen rather than heard addressing occasional words of comfort and reassurance to the President. In fact the latter appeared to be the annoying distance of it. As soon as it had passed out of the great gates the crowd doubled in behind at some dis-

tance in the rear, and followed it all the way to the depot. There were throngs of people at the windows all along the route. When they had placed him in the wagon, Drs. Hamilton and Agnew, seated in their carriage, were rolled out of the grounds. The President's private secretary followed and the Cabinet came next, one carriage after another, forming quite a lively cavalcade of wheels. The covered express wagon bearing the President came slowly along in the rear. No teams followed it. At the depot a file of soldiers unhitched the horses and backed the wagon up to the platform, from which the President was transferred to the car. When in the car the President was moved from the bed so long occupied, and placed upon the spring bed prepared for his reception. Mrs. Garfield and the attending and consulting physicians, with others, boarded the train, the party numbering twenty persons. There was a delay of a few minutes. At forty-five minutes past six o'clock the train started.

"The trip to Baltimore was made in good time, and the President felt so comfortable that a dispatch was sent to his mother, who is at Garrettsville, Ohio, telling her that all was going well, and that her son was standing the journey splendidly. At seven o'clock the President took three ounces of beef tea, and seemed to relish it. The train went slowly through Baltimore, making no stop. Few persons were about, and the dispatches thrown off were received by Superintendent Wilkins, who distributed them to the representatives of the press. Nearly fifteen hundred people were gathered at the Wilmington depot, but they maintained

perfect silence as the train moved by. Dr. Bliss threw off a bundle of dispatches. At Lamokin, a stop was made for coal, and Dr. Agnew assured Dr. Milner, of that place, who was at the depot, that the President was getting along very comfortably. The speed between Baltimore and Philadelphia approximated forty-nine miles an hour.

“After leaving Philadelphia, a high rate of speed was attained, which was continued until Tullytown was reached, where a stop of eleven minutes was made for water and fuel. This was a small place, and although a number of people gathered near, no annoyance was caused. Trenton was passed pretty rapidly, affording the crowds of people at the depot and on the bridges over the railroad very little opportunity for catching glimpses of the cars. Water was taken at Monmouth Junction, and from that point to Elberon the train ran at a very rapid rate. An immense crowd lined the track at Freehold, but not the least noise was made. The men uncovered their heads and some of the children waved flags. The train reached Elberon at nine minutes after one, P. M. Twenty minutes afterwards the patient was in his room.”

Private Secretary Brown gave the following statement of the trip:

“I doubt if the removal could have been more skillfully planned or the arrangements more perfectly conducted. Every detail was arranged minutely before we started, and the programme was strictly adhered to. The prospect, of course, was that the President would have to suffer the fatigue of a long, tedious

journey; but the news that the hour had arrived for his removal seemed to cheer him. He had been restless several days, anxiously anticipating the event. When the arrangements for his removal were being made he kept constantly inquiring about the details. He was kept informed, and knew thoroughly the whole programme.

“The physicians were the only persons who removed the President from his bed in the White House. They lifted him in a sheet, and he was carried to a bed in the lower corridor of the White House. When he was fixed comfortably the bed was carried to a covered express wagon which was waiting at the door. Preparations had been made to keep the streets of Washington free from noise. It was remarkable how faithfully everybody complied with this instruction. The street cars had stopped running, and no vehicle of any description passed the express wagon which bore the President. The streets were filled with people of all kinds, but there was no demonstration of any description. I noticed that a great many men uncovered their heads as the wagon moved slowly along the street. The people knew that the President was in the wagon, and they seemed to think that his improvement depended on their quietness. During this trip the patient was not disturbed in the least. There were three railroad tracks over which the wagon had to pass, but the jarring was avoided by filling the tracks with several inches of sawdust. The experiment proved to be a good one, as the wagon passed over the tracks as smoothly as it would have moved on a wooden floor.

“The transfer from the wagon to the train was speedily made, and then the party was ready to start on the journey. The train was started without any noise. There was no ringing of bells or signals by whistles. When the President was made comfortable in bed, the physicians told the conductor that they were ready to have the train started. A wave of the conductor's hand was the signal to the engineer, and the train moved slowly out.

“Outside of the Presidential party there were on the train Thomas N. Ely, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, who superintended the running of the train, an engineer, a fireman, a conductor, a telegraph operator, and a lineman. The two telegraph men were taken on board, so that if an emergency arose assistance could be summoned immediately. There were many things that might have happened; for instance, some accident to the engine, when it would be necessary to use the wire immediately. If we were far from a telegraph office, it would take hours to get the assistance that one could summon in a short time by having the telegraph men on hand. The telegraph men changed at the end of each division, as did also the engine hands. To avoid any possible confusion or mistake, a ticket was given to everybody who was to go on the train. When the doctors arrived they had to show their tickets the same as the telegraph men or the servants.

“The story of the trip, so far as it relates to the President's car, is nothing but the story of the sick-room for the last week. The middle car was kept as free

from intrusion as was the President's room in the White House. The physicians were in constant attendance, but the other persons on the train seldom entered the car. Mrs. Garfield went into the car at intervals and remained a short time with her husband. There was nothing for her to do there and her presence might be an occasion for the President to talk, which the physicians want him to avoid as much as possible. It was necessary sometimes for those in the front car to go into the rear one, and in that way all on board had an opportunity to see the patient.

"I saw him for the first time in seventeen days. I was prepared to find him very much emaciated by his long suffering, and was much surprised at his appearance. His face was not as thin and pale as I thought it was, and his eyes were not as sunken. His beard has grown in length, but his face generally looks about the same as when I saw him last. The physicians attended to him the same as they did every day in the White House. At the usual hours he received the ordinary treatment. His wound was dressed in the train, he received his nourishment regularly, and he was treated to a sponge bath at stated intervals. His pulse was even throughout the journey, and the physicians say that it did not vary ten beats at any time. He was in a condition to manifest an interest in the trip, and occasionally asked for some information regarding what progress was being made.

"No bad effects were noticed by the physicians. Everything was kept perfectly quiet, and it was not necessary to stop the train once on account of a change

in the patient's condition. When the train started Mr. Ely said that he wanted to be informed about how the President was standing the journey. The train started at a low rate of speed, but it was soon quickened. Mr. Ely often asked if the train was running too fast, but he was always told that there was no perceptible change in the patient. We travelled about fifty miles an hour most of the way, and over part of the route we ran sixty miles an hour. Between Philadelphia and Monmouth Junction, where the track is almost perfectly level, we ran three miles at the rate of seventy miles an hour. Several stops were made to take on coal and water. At all these places great crowds had gathered to see the train. The crowds were orderly. There was no shouting or demonstration of any kind. When some of the party stepped on the platform to send a telegram or attend to some other matter, the people would ask in a whisper, 'How is he bearing it?' At all these places flags were seen floating from houses and public places. The largest crowds were seen in the great cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore, where long lines extended in every direction; but there was not the slightest noise or disturbance. At one of the stopping places the surgeons suggested giving the patient a sponge bath, but he replied:—'No, go on through. It is more advisable to get to Elberon Station than to give me a bath.' The incidents of the journey were few, as the President was treated exactly in the same way as he was yesterday in the White House."

In the appended table may be seen the time made between the various stations by the President's train,

the distances from point to point and the places where there were halts :

Stations.	Miles.	Time. A. M.	Stations.	Miles.	Time. A. M.
Washington.....		6.46	Chester.....	126	10.25
Benning's.....	5	6.56	Moore's.....	130	10.30
Wilson's.....	9	7.04	Paschall.....	134	10.35
Seabrook.....	12	7.11	Gray's Ferry.....	137	10.39
Bowie.....	17	7.18	West Phila.....	139	10.52
Odenton.....	24	7.29	Mantua.....	140	10.58
Severn.....	27	7.34	N. Penn. Junc.....	145	11.05
Winans.....	34	7.48	Frankford Junc.....	147	11.08
St. Agnes.....	37	7.54	Tacony.....	150	11.14
Fulton Junction.....	40	7.59	Cornwell.....	156	11.19
Balt., Charles St.....	42	8.02	Schenck's.....	159	11.26
Bay View*.....	{ 46	a 8.10 18.22	Tullytown†.....	165	11.38
Chase's.....	57	8.33	Morrisville.....	170	11.47
Magnolia.....	60	8.40	Trenton.....	172	11.48
Perryman's.....	68	8.49	Princeton Junc.....	181	11.59
Aberdeen.....	73	8.54			P. M.
Havre de Grace.....	78	8.59	Monmouth Junc.....	187	12.07
Perryville.....	79	9.09	Dayton.....	189	12.10
North East.....	88	9.22	Jamesburg.....	192	12.14
Elkton.....	94	9.31	Freehold.....	204	12.28
Newark.....	100	9.39	Farmingdale.....	212	12.37
Stanton.....	106	9.46	Sea Girt.....	220	12.48
Wilmington.....	112	9.55	Elberon Station.....	233	1.09
Bellevue.....	117	10.03	Franklyn Cottage.....	233‡	1.20
Lamokin†.....	{ 125	a 10.12 10.21			

* Stopped to dress President's wound. † Stopped for coal and water. ‡ Stopped for water.

A letter from Long Branch thus describes the arrival of the President there :

"All Elberon was throbbing with suppressed excitement when the President arrived. Through the night the rumbling of passing vehicles had been kept up; locomotive headlights gleamed in sight, where at least three hundred men were building the road from the depot to the cottage, and the click of hammers driving in the spikes and the clatter of iron rails mingled their

noises with the reverberations of the waves. When the cottagers awoke in the morning they found a railroad at their doors, running through what was an orchard the night before, and locomotives were drawing cars with armed soldiers over the flower-bordered lawns where ladies in white flannel suits were playing tennis the previous afternoon. In a night, as if under the spell of a magician, this completely-equipped structure had arisen. As early as seven o'clock the whole coast knew the President had started, and the fishermen out at sea, getting the tidings from the shore, passed the word from boat to boat. Through the morning flocks of carriages, containing anxious people, came trooping from other parts of Long Branch, and from Ocean Grove, Monmouth Beach and other places, all intent upon seeing the President safely housed in his snug sea-quarters. At noon the drive fronting the hotel was an impenetrable mass of vehicles. The line of the road to the station was also crowded with carriages and with people afoot, and at the point of alighting there were at least a thousand ladies, mostly from the West End and the other resorts, who left their coachmen and conveyances at a distance. Glossy landaus and carryalls with glittering wheels were drawn up in lines, and their statuesque drivers, with rich, dark livery, glossy hats and general English make-up, added to the picturesque watering-place effect.

“All was stir and bustle in the little foreign-looking hotel which adjoins the Francklyn cottage. The operators at the telegraph there had been ordered peremp-

torily to receive no press dispatches, their wires being reserved for government business alone. But the press representatives from New York, Washington and elsewhere, seeking information for papers all over the country, were on hand, nevertheless, and besieged the place until at last a pony express had to be put in service to carry the hundreds of messages to the West End, where a full corps of operators were stationed. Messenger boys in livery, mounted on neat little ponies, were galloping from office to office as if the fate of a world depended upon saving a moment. United States army officers, in glistening helmets, moved in and out; orderlies, with dispatches, came post-haste; guards, with fixed bayonets, picketed the hotel grounds; groups of elegant-looking ladies, with a great deal of rich, gorgeous color in their draperies, occupied the piazzas, and the lobbies were crowded with men of distinction. Telegrams received in the hotel giving the progress of the train were passed from one person to another, becoming general with incredible rapidity. People were buoyant and bright and cheerful, and the spirit of the hour seemed to be that the President was going to get well if he could only be brought through safe.

“At last, just at the expected time, twenty minutes after one o'clock, the engine, with the three cars attached, came slowly and smoothly to the station and stopped. The on-lookers were mute. The faces were cheerful, but there were no cheers, and people even refrained from conversation. There was a wonderful consideration shown by the people for the nice proprieties. The switch was turned and the engine slowly

backed the cars up the temporary railroad erected during the night to the cottage. There was a flutter of color among the parterre of ladies on what is called the quarter-deck of the hotel, above the bath-houses and commanding a view of the cottage, but not a handkerchief was waved, not a clapping of hands, not anything approaching a demonstration, which would have been manifestly improper under the circumstances. The track was to the back of the cottage, where there is a veranda opening into the dining-room. A platform, covered with canvas above and on the sides, was ready to slide into the car door, which is near the centre, and when this was let down the prostrate President was carried in without any of the thousand spectators catching a glimpse except as a section of the canvas sides blew apart and disclosed for a moment the tableau of several men carrying a couch with something white on it and two emaciated hands crossed in front. What was thus seen was the wasted form of James A. Garfield, now only a light, but none the less precious burden. The friends and attendants who handled him in the car carried him into the house. Mrs. Garfield and some of the children, and the nurses and others who were in another car, walked around and went in the front door. Not much difficulty was met with carrying him up-stairs into the south chamber, which was selected because the large room below was too exposed to secure perfect quiet.

“The first thing done after the President was brought to his room was to dress the wound, which had received only temporary attention on the train. It is

customary for some of the doctors to give the President a bath every few hours while awake, and the bath consists of sponging the entire surface of his body with alcohol, a treatment which gives him great pleasure. After the party started the doctors wanted to give him his bath on the train, and Dr. Bliss went in to ask him if he would have it. 'No,' said General Garfield; 'I like the bath pretty well, but we will not bother about it now. The great thing at present is progress; we will do all these other things after we get to the end of the route.' Consequently the next thing was to give him his bath. After that he had some beef essence, such as he took during the trip, from two to four ounces every two hours, and then he was left alone and fell asleep. Just before he did so he turned a little in the bed and murmured to Colonel Rockwell, as the regular rolling of the waves outside the widow reached his ears, 'Isn't that restful! Oh, how much better this is!' Dr. Bliss authorizes the statement as coming from him and the other physicians that the President was given no opium or anodyne in any shape whatever, either to-day or the day before. His sleep Monday night was natural, and his naps, for twenty-five minutes this afternoon and for fifteen minutes just before seven o'clock, were not brought on by any artificial means. No hypodermic injections were given on the train and he did not attempt to sleep, because he said he had looked forward to the trip with a great deal of pleasure and he wanted to enjoy it.

"The question every one will be asking in the morning is, Has the trip done the President any good?

What effect has it had upon his condition? Do the doctors think it has been or may yet benefit? 'I am of the opinion,' said Dr. Bliss, just after dinner this evening, 'that the atmosphere of Long Branch is much better for the President than the atmosphere of Washington. Its influence will be helpful. In the evening bulletin the anticipated rise of pulse, consequent upon the excitement of the trip, was manifested. Just before we went to dinner his pulse was running at one hundred and twenty-four. On the whole, we consider that up to this hour his general condition is an improvement—not a marked improvement, but still an improvement. When we dressed the wound in the back we found that it was granulating finely, looked clear and bright in color, and discharged freely and healthily. The wound has been healing for several days, and the exterior—that is to say, the surface skin—is beginning to gather about the orifice. An abrasion in the back is also looking better. We fully expected the indications of slight reaction which have taken place since the dressing; still the President has held to the idea that if he got to Long Branch he would get well, and we are hopeful that his mind may have some influence upon his general condition. We do not look for any very great improvement, not so much improvement as we expect the day after; but if any particular improvement occurs on Wednesday, it will be a very favorable circumstance."

On the whole, the removal of the President was regarded by his physicians as a great success, and as a positive benefit to him.

On the morning of September the 7th the President's cottage was calm and still. "It had been a night of rest and the President himself had passed several hours of sleep. The tired attendants, overcome with the long and anxious strain, the quick preparation for leaving Washington and the excitement and suspense of the trip, were at last able to close their eyes and gather new strength. The doctors relieved each other through the night, but even they were able to get more rest than usual and awoke refreshed.

"But early as was the hour the President was awake. Suddenly starting from one of those short, fluctuating periods of somnolence that have marked the latest phases of his case, he asked to be raised a little, and for full half an hour he enjoyed the panorama of the sea.

"'Rockwell,' he said, 'you know I wanted to be a sailor once. It was the merest chance my lot was not cast with those brave fellows out there.'

"He did not say it rapidly, but slowly, for he was very weak, but his voice was clear and his enunciation quite distinct. As he spoke he looked in the direction where a magnificent ship was just coming into sight, with every sail set and speeding before the wind. She was deep in shadow; her outlines dark, like silhouette, and her masts and canvas-clad yards dim and misty. The next moment the rosy light of the fast ascending sun fell upon the picture. The sails shone like gold, and the ship seemed to be floating on crystal tinged with pink. The President, for months pent up in the confines of the White House, took in all

the beauty of this bright scene, and smiled with evident satisfaction.

“Down on the beach all was deserted. The large flag in front of the cottage hung dreamily. The cactus plants on the piazzas gave a sort of tropical cast to the place, the rapidly-increasing heat of the sun heightening the effect. There seemed scarcely a breath of air stirring. A bugle blew. The guards were changed with the usual formality, and in a little while the whole artillery company was drilled. As the morning wore on the bustle about the cottage increased. The meals for the family were sent in. Mollie Garfield and Lulu Rockwell went bathing, and messengers carrying notes of condolence and calling to leave the card of sympathy began to arrive. Among the callers were: Aristarchi Bey, the Turkish Minister, and other diplomatic officials; Mr. Birney, the United States Minister to the Hague; Admiral Marston, of the Navy; Justice Strong, of the Supreme Court; Senator Chaffee, and all the members of the Cabinet.

“A large quantity of game from St. Louis, and peaches and flowers innumerable, from unknown persons, were received during the morning. Later in the day Mrs. Garfield and Mollie went driving, in response to the invitation of one of the lady cottagers. The day was the hottest known on the coast in many years. With a breeze blowing through the room the thermometer stood 94 about noon. The President felt it very much, and complained of feeling the effects of the heat. Almost all day there was a land breeze, which felt like the air from a red-hot furnace. The

hottest day in July or August was cool in comparison. At one time a little sea breeze sprang up, but lasted only for a short time. The President was the first to notice it, and called Dr. Bliss' attention to the fact.

“‘Oh, doctor,’ he said, in a feeble voice, ‘if it would only keep like that!’”

“The heat had the effect of taking away his cheerfulness to some extent, and he did not talk much, lying still and apparently struggling to catch every stray breath of fresh air that found its way into the room. It must be remembered that the room in which he is lying is not open on the side from which the wind has been blowing. Mrs. Garfield expressed herself to Dr. Bliss as greatly disappointed at the unusual heat of the weather, and she was evidently very anxious as to the effect it would have.

“Dr. Bliss said at night: ‘I have nothing encouraging to say; neither am I despondent. The President is very ill, but no worse than the circumstances justify. If we get a sea breeze, I will have something more cheerful to say.’”

“‘Considering the great heat,’ said Dr. Reyburn at eleven o’clock, ‘and taking into account the President has not fully recovered from the excitement of the trip, I think there is no occasion for alarm. It is too early to say that he is any worse. While he keeps up so well himself, there is great hope.’”

On the 8th of September the improvement in the President continued. On that day Drs. Woodward, Barnes, Reyburn, and Edson withdrew from the man-

agement of the case. The official bulletins were as follows :

“8.30 A. M.—At the morning examination, made at eight o'clock, the President's pulse was 104, temperature, 98.7, and respiration 18. He was restless and wakeful during the early part of the night, but after twelve midnight slept well until morning. His general condition appears more encouraging.

“6.30 P. M.—At noon to-day the President's temperature was 98.4; pulse, 94; respiration, 17. At the evening dressing, at half-past five, P. M., his temperature was 99; pulse, 100; respiration, 18. He has taken a liberal amount of food, both solid and fluid, with apparent relish.

“By special request of the President it has been made our duty to say in this public manner to Surgeon General Barnes, Surgeon J. J. Woodward, and Dr. Robert Reyburn, that in dispensing with their services as his medical attendants, he was actuated only by a wish to relieve them of labor and responsibility which in his improved condition he could no longer properly impose upon them. Both the President and Mrs. Garfield desire to express to these gentlemen personally and in the same public manner their high appreciation of the great skill and discretion which they have so constantly exercised as associate and counsel in the management of his case up to the present time.”

On the same day the correspondent of *The Philadelphia Times* wrote as follows :

“Two fishermen from Monmouth Beach, who had heard of President Garfield's miraculous appetite and

thought a nice thing to do would be to catch some of the fine Spanish mackerel now so abundant along the coast and send them to him for his breakfast, went out last night to see what they could get. They came in this morning with several of the finest specimens a hook has taken from the water this summer. These they sent to Elberon, and, although they were not used, the act received its due appreciation. But if the President did not indulge in this particular luxury he did in others. He passed the night without much disturbance and awoke refreshed. At breakfast he surprised every one by saying that he would like something more substantial than the porridge which is usually the basis of this meal.

“‘What would you say to game?’ said General Swaim; ‘some one has sent a lot of splendid woodcock, packed in ice.’

“‘Well, bring some up anyway,’ said the President, and it was accordingly cooked and served. He took a little piece of the breast and nibbled at it. Dr. Bliss says he picked it very thoroughly and smacked his lips as if enjoying himself. At dinner he also ate a little more solid food, and said that he knew salt sea air made him as hungry as a hawk.

“During the morning the President was in a splendid humor. It was learned at second hand, but from good authority, that the President said: ‘Now that all those doctors have gone, I feel wonderfully better.’

“Dr. Bliss was telling him of his decreased pulse, when he said: ‘Yes, less pulse and less doctors is a

very good sign,' and then he made the remark just quoted. A few minutes afterwards he said :

" ' Bliss, it's going to be tiresome down here. Don't you think you could get up some amusement? Have Rockwell and some of them come up. What would you say to a game of cards? '

" ' No, no,' said Dr. Bliss ; ' it would never do. After you get stronger we may think about something of that sort, but not just now. I couldn't think of it. '

" ' Well, I don't know why,' said the President. ' I don't see what harm a little game would do me,' and he looked rather disappointed at not getting his wish.

" Since he has had his way in getting to Long Branch he is beginning to assert his will. Indeed, of late there is a great deal going to show that he has to some extent taken his own case in hand himself. From the first he was opposed to so many doctors, and often expressed his displeasure. Once he made the remark, ' Bliss, I'm getting tired of this mob. ' He has also grown sick of being tumbled about and examined, and having different doctors at different hours put thermometers under his arms and feel his pulse. Since he came here he has rebelled against so much examination, and consequently the number of bulletins has been shortened.

" Then he has thought Mrs. Edson ought to go home—not that he was tired of her, but because he felt she was greatly worn, and needed rest. Mrs. Edson demurred, but the President had to have his way. He also had the satisfaction of seeing his idea about lessening the number of physicians carried out. Drs. Barnes

and Woodward have returned to Washington, and Dr. Reyburn has gone to visit friends at Ocean Grove. They felt very bad about it, but the President was inexorable. The fact that all three of them voted in council against his removal to Long Branch did not raise them in his favor. No one told him, but sick men learn these things, and Garfield is a sort of amateur psychologist. Anyhow, he has several times astonished the doctors by showing that he knew things going on outside. Before leaving Washington he insisted on the reduction of the surgical force to Dr. Bliss, with Drs. Agnew and Hamilton intervening as consultants. But Dr. Bliss, in courtesy, thought he would ask all his colleagues to make the trip to Long Branch. When one of the interdicted ones came into the car during the trip, Garfield said: 'Hasn't he gone away yet?' This is the plain truth, and the complimentary allusions of the evening bulletin are simply surgical salve for irritated feelings. After all this it is scarcely necessary to say that President Garfield's condition has very much improved. The weather was in strange contrast to yesterday. A fine breeze began blowing in the morning and kept up continuously, until at night there were clouds scudding across the sky. The sea was unduly agitated, making masses of angry-looking surf, and the wind blew stiffly, almost as if presaging a storm. The slat shutters on the sea windows of the President's room had to be closed and more covering put on the bed. He enjoyed the change to the fullest, and said he wished it would blow a gale.

"Attorney General MacVeagh had the cars in which

the party came sent back to-day. They were standing on the track as grim reminders of a possible contingency, now seemingly altogether removed. The number of guards was also reduced, and they no longer appear with their muskets, which is in much better taste. A sentry simply sits at the door, and another walks by the house with his hands behind him.

“‘Crete,’ said the President to his brave little wife, about eleven o’clock this morning, as the ringing strokes from the belfry of the Protestant Episcopal church, almost across from the cottage, reached his ears, ‘what are they ringing that bell for?’

“‘That?’ said Mrs. Garfield, who had been waiting for the surprise; ‘that’s the church where we were when you first came down. They’re all going there to pray for you to get well,’ and getting on her knees she said: ‘And I’m going to pray, too, James, that it may be soon, for I know already that the other prayer has been heard.’

“From where he lay, Garfield could see the carriages draw up, and group after group go in. He could even hear the subdued refrain of ‘Jesus, lover of my soul,’ as it was borne by on its heavenward way. Thrilled with emotion, a tear trickled down the President’s face. After a while a sweet, woman’s voice arose, singing from one of Sir Michael Costa’s noblest oratorios, ‘Turn Thou unto me and have mercy upon me,’ sang the voice, ‘for I am desolate; I am desolate and afflicted; the troubles of my heart are enlarged. Oh, bring Thou me out of my distresses, out of my distresses, my God.’

"The people in the church sat almost spellbound under the voice. Mrs. George W. Childs, who sang the recitative, was affected deeply, and made it seem to all, what it must have been to her, a prayer in music. Rev. Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, was the officiating clergyman, and prayed long and fervently that the Chief Magistrate of the nation might be preserved to the people and made more useful than before. It was a solemn, deeply-felt and awe-inspiring service, but still made bright by the evidences of religious hope."

During the 9th, the President continued to hold the ground he had gained, and Secretary Blaine telegraphed to Minister Lowell that the sufferer had not for many weeks done so well for so many consecutive hours.

A letter from Long Branch, on the same day, said :

"The two best things in the President's favor to-day are that he was able to see Attorney-General MacVeagh, and that Dr. Agnew, when he dressed the wound to-night, found him better than when he left him on Wednesday night. Dr. Agnew says: 'He is very weak yet, but better. His loss has been great, but does not approximate two-fifths his weight. I do not dread any complications beyond his sinking condition. A great deal is said about the bullet having been located. I will say that so far as I am concerned I do not know where it is. Any operation for the purpose of getting at the ball is something that will not be considered at this time. To overcome the patient's weakness will be the single aim.'"

On Saturday, September the 10th, the President's

condition was quite as favorable as on the previous day.

On the 11th, there was an alarming return of the unfavorable symptoms in the President's case. The evening bulletin indicated higher temperature and pulse than for several days past. There were also indications that blood-poison had affected the right lung, involving a serious state of affairs. While the patient slept well and took the usual nourishment brandy had to be used, and milk punch was given to create an appetite. On the whole, the situation once more assumed an alarming character

CHAPTER XIV.

DEATH OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

Slow Progress of the President's Case—Is Placed in his Reclining Chair—Slight Signs of Improvement—The President Enjoys the View of the Sea—A Change for the Worse—The Chills Return—The Surgeons lose Hope—September the Nineteenth—The Last Struggle—Death of President Garfield—The Brave Battle over—General Swain's Account of the Death-Scene—Dr. Bliss's Account—Vice-President Arthur Notified—The News Spread Throughout the Country—The National Sorrow—Sympathy from Abroad—Message from Queen Victoria to Mrs. Garfield—The President's Mother Receives the News—The Post-Mortem—The Body Conveyed from Elberon to Washington City—Incidents of the Journey—Arrival at Washington—Conveyed to the Capitol—Lying in State Under the Dome—The Last Parting of the Family with the Husband and Father—The Funeral Services—The Journey to Cleveland—Scenes along the Route—Arrival at Cleveland—Lying in State in Monumental Park—Sunday in Cleveland—Funeral of President Garfield—The Nation's Last Tribute to its Martyred Chief.

THE case of the heroic sufferer continued to drag along wearily, yet his condition seemed, on the whole, to be steadily improving. On the 12th of September he was much better and brighter, and appeared to take his food with more relish. On the 13th there was a still more marked improvement, though it was recognized on all hands that a "better day" for the President in his exhausted condition meant simply that he had not exhibited any unfavorable symptoms, and was no worse than on the previous day. Matters were very quiet

about the Francklyn Cottage during the day. The President had passed a good night, and on the morning of the 13th requested to be placed in the reclining invalid chair. This was done, and the chair was so placed that the President could command a view of the beach and take in the bathers frisking on the sands and in the surf. Among them—or, rather, a little to the right and almost opposite the cottage—were his charming little daughter, Mollie, Lulu Rockwell and young MacVeagh. They were scarcely more than fifty yards from the window. The President could see the laughing faces and hear the happy shouts when the breakers rolled over them, and he lay silently contemplating the joyous scene for half an hour, when he requested to be put back to bed again. This will be repeated as long as he can stand it. He enjoys it amazingly.

On the 14th the same happy condition of affairs was maintained, and the President was again transferred from his bed to his easy chair. It was agreed that he should occupy it, and continue his pleasing study of the ocean just as long as he was not tired, or as long as he showed no ill-effects therefrom. At the end of an hour, when Dr. Bliss at the hotel learned from a messenger that the patient was still in the chair he hurried over, and, after a consultation with Dr. Hamilton, suggested to the patient that he be put back to bed again. It was done by insinuation only, but it appears the patient did not take the hint and continued to gaze out upon the sea, then tossed in foamy white caps. Finally the hint was broadened, but the

President promptly objected. He said he was perfectly comfortable and preferred to stay where he was a while longer. In the words of Dr. Hamilton, when asked to go to bed he "kicked like a steer." At the expiration of the time mentioned, however, he was prevailed upon to submit to the change. There was no evidence that he had suffered any inconvenience from this long occupancy of the reclining chair. On the contrary, he expressed himself as feeling much refreshed, and is said to have made some humorous remarks about his apparently improved condition.

The 15th of September was a wild, cheerless day at Elberon, and was most unfavorable for the sufferer. A strong east wind swept the sea, and lashed the shore with a continuous roar. All that could be said for the sufferer was that he continued to hold his own "with," as Dr. Boynton remarked, "a slight falling off in vitality and strength."

The President was moved to his reclining chair as usual and remained there listening to the roar of the sea and the shrill whistling and ghostly shrieking of the wind for nearly an hour. At the expiration of that time he was lifted back again and fell into a state of semi-unconsciousness, which more resembled stupor than sleep. He rested very much of the time in that state. During the day he called for some beefsteak and seemed to derive much pleasure from giving directions how it should be cooked. When it was brought in, prepared in the best style and big enough for two well men of good appetite, he could partake of but as much as would fill a tablespoon and this care-

fully minced. Dr. Boynton said the patient's appetite was not so good that day. At the best it was but weak and fitful. Very often his sense of the necessity of his eating something anyhow was so strong that he insisted on being fed when his taste rebelled against all food. This craving for food was not appetite, but an exertion of a tremendous will power.

On the 16th there was a marked change for the worse, and the President's condition excited the gravest apprehension. There were unmistakable evidences of increasing weakness, both in mind and body. The discharges from the wound were more unhealthy than for some time past; there was a second febrile rise toward evening, which had not occurred before since he reached Elberon, and stimulants had to be administered in larger quantities. He was unfit to be moved to the easy-chair and expressed no wish for the change. His mind wandered more or less all day, and he seemed to recognize his danger in the lucid intervals. It looked as though the eleventh Saturday since the shooting was about to mark another crisis in the case of the nation's patient.

On the 17th the President sank still lower. Shortly before noon he was seized with a severe chill, and his pulse, temperature and respiration soon increased to a remarkable extent; the pulse reaching the alarming figure of 120. The physicians promptly administered brandy and water, but he grew deathly sick, vomiting up the stimulant and everything else on the stomach. At the same time he was in a raging delirium, and talked wildly and clutched at the blankets. This

alarmed one of the attendants so much that he reported the President dying. The alarm may be said to have communicated itself to the entire household. The absent members of the Cabinet were telegraphed to return immediately. All but Secretary Lincoln, who has been at Rye Beach, arrived here during the afternoon.

After the rigor had passed the President sank into a quiet sleep, and slept more or less during the remainder of the day. His pulse and temperature subsided toward evening, and there was no recurrence of the chill. Enema was administered successfully and stimulants were not rejected. His condition, however, was considered more critical than ever, and it was a question whether enough vitality could be maintained to counteract the exhaustion of the system.

Sunday, the 18th of September, opened finely, with a delicious breeze from the east. The morning bulletin from Francklyn Cottage gave hopes that the President would have a good day. The President slept well during the night, and, in his waking hours, there was an absence of mental hallucinations. Up to a late hour on Saturday night, there were grave fears as to his condition, more rigors being feared, but none came. Every precaution had been taken to prevent it, his extremities being wrapped in dry, heated flannels.

Secretaries Hunt and Windom and Postmaster-General James arrived on the night of the 17th, and were met at the depot by Attorney-General MacVeagh, who escorted them to the West End Cottage, and there ex-

plained to them the condition of the President. None of them went to Elberon during the night.

The 18th was passed by the President with comparative comfort. There were grave fears during the morning that a rigor would occur, and, in order to prevent its development, the attending surgeons ordered the application of hot cloths, which proved a successful treatment. There were indications of a cooling of the extremities, but the hot applications brought on an increase of temperature, and the coolness gradually wore away without producing a chill. Had a rigor occurred during the morning it would have been a very serious one, as the patient was extremely enfeebled.

With the exception of the renewed efforts which have been employed to keep the temperature from falling below the normal range the day passed without an event of an extraordinary character. Shortly after the issue of the evening bulletin, however, the rigor which had been dreaded all day, set in and lasted fifteen minutes. It was followed by a high fever which continued until midnight, after which the President was comparatively comfortable.

Monday, September 19th, opened with cause for the gravest fears. At half-past eight, while the surgeons were preparing for the morning dressing of the wound, a severe chill came on which lasted fifteen minutes, and was followed by profuse sweating and high fever. In the President's weakened condition this was cause for the most serious alarm.

When he had somewhat recovered from the effects

of the chill, he said to Dr. Bliss : "How am I looking, doctor?" the doctor assured him that he looked quite as well as could be expected under the circumstances, whereupon he asked the attendant for a hand-glass. The glass was brought and he looked into it silently for quite a minute. Rolling his eyes sadly towards the doctor, for he couldn't turn his head, he said :

"How strange it is that when I look no worse and feel no worse that I am so terribly weak."

The words went to the hearts of all who were present, and some of the attendants turned away to hide the gathering tears. "How strange it is," they might have answered, "that this man, with his iron will alone to aid him, is able to so manfully bear up under a combination of ills which it would seem impossible for human nature to withstand."

The day wore anxiously away. The physicians had come to the conclusion that there was no hope, and that the patient might die at any moment. Even the stout-hearted Dr. Bliss would only say, "Hope is only buried in the grave." A correspondent, writing during the day, said :

"While news is scarce to-day since morning the suspense is none the less terrible. Dr. Agnew said this afternoon that the case was hopeless—at least he had no hope. This was in some way communicated to Mollie Garfield, and she went into the sick-room by permission to embrace her dying father. As she attempted to leave the room she fell in a dead faint across the threshold, cutting open her face and causing a great sensation among the household. Dr. Agnew

attended her and assisted her away. The President's pulse during the day has been fitful and changing, running from 102 to 140, while his temperature has been near or below the normal."

The last official bulletin of the day was issued at 6 P. M., and stated the President's condition as follows:

"6 P. M.—Though the gravity of the President's condition continues, there has been no aggravation of symptoms since the noon bulletin was issued. He has slept most of the time, coughing but little and with ease. The sputa remains unchanged. A sufficient amount of nourishment has been taken and retained. Temperature, 98.4; pulse, 102; respiration, 18."

As the night deepened, the President fell into a quiet slumber, and the usual preparations for attendance upon him during the night were made. They were the last that were to be needed, for at 35 minutes after 10 o'clock, the brave struggle was brought to a sudden end, and the great soul of James A. Garfield passed into eternity.

When the President passed away there were eleven persons in the room, which is by no means large and must therefore have seemed crowded. The narrow surgical bed was in the centre of the room, with the head toward the south. It had a white counterpane on it and the pillow was not high. The gas from one of the side brackets which had been low, was turned up so that everything was in light. Colonel Rockwell, tall and military-looking, with large features and a moustache just turning gray, stood at one corner of the head of the bed, and General Swaim, short and stout

and robust in appearance, stood at the other. Dr. Bliss stood on the right-hand side of the bed near the President's head, almost touching Colonel Rockwell, and Mrs. Garfield's position was immediately opposite, on the left-hand side, very near to General Swain. Dr. Agnew was also on the right-hand side, a little below Dr. Bliss. Mrs. Rockwell was at the foot of the bed, a little to the left, and Master Rockwell stood a little at her back. Mollie Garfield, with her face in her pocket handkerchief, and with Lulu Rockwell's arm around her waist, stood on the line between the right-hand corner of the foot of the bed and the north-eastern angle of the room, which contains a high dresser over a large old-fashioned fireplace. Private Secretary Brown stood on the line of the foot of the bed, back towards the wall, and the colored waiter stood in the doorway, which is in the northwest corner. Everything was to some extent duplicated by reflection in the plate-glass mirror-door of a wardrobe, a little at one side from the southwest angle of the room. The ladies in the room had hastily dressed and wore wraps thrown loosely across their shoulders. Every one was standing up, and, with the exception of Mollie Garfield, for a time every one's gaze was fastened on the patient's face, watching the shadows steal across it. No word was spoken until Dr. Bliss, after stooping down and feeling for the pulse, and placing his ear against the heart, crossed the hands on the then inanimate breast, arose, lifted his right hand, pointing upward as towards a spirit that had taken flight, and turning his back upon the bed stood with folded arms.

As Mrs. Garfield dropped upon her knees by the bedside every one withdrew, leaving her and her daughter there alone.

Judge-Advocate-General Swain, who was the President's faithful and devoted friend and nurse, thus describes the last scene:

"It was my night to watch with the President. I had been with him a good deal of the time from three o'clock in the afternoon. A few minutes before ten o'clock I left Colonel Rockwell, with whom I had been talking for some minutes in the lower hall, and proceeded up-stairs to the President's room. On entering I found Mrs. Garfield sitting by his bedside. There were no other persons in the room. I said to her: 'How is everything going?' She replied: 'He is sleeping nicely.' I then said: 'I think you had better go to bed and rest.' I asked her what had been prescribed for him to take during the night. She replied that she did not know; that she had given him milk punch at eight o'clock. I then said, 'If you will wait a moment I will go into the doctors' room and see what is to be given during the night.' She then said, 'There is beef-tea down-stairs.' I found Dr. Bliss in the doctors' room and asked what was to be given during the night. He answered that he would fix up a list and give it to me soon. I then went and had a little conversation with Mrs. Garfield, who laid her hand on the President's forehead and said he seemed to be in good condition and passed out of the room. I immediately felt his hands, feet and knees. I thought that his knees seemed a little cool, and I got a flannel cloth,

heated it at the fire, and laid it over his limbs. I also heated another cloth and laid it over his right hand. At this moment Dr. Boynton came in and felt the President's pulse and said that it was not as strong as it was in the afternoon, but very good. The doctor also thought he was doing well. The doctor then left the room.

"Shortly after this the President awoke. I took hold of his hand and remarked: 'You have had a nice, comfortable sleep.' He then said: 'Oh, Swaim, this terrible pain,' placing his right hand on his breast, over his heart. He asked for some water, which I gave him. He took the glass in his hand, I raising his head as usual, and drank the water very naturally. I then handed the glass to the colored man, Daniel, who had just come in. I took a napkin and wiped his forehead, as he usually perspired on awakening. He then said: 'Oh, Swaim, this terrible pain. Press your hand on it.' I laid my hand on his chest. He then threw both hands up to the side and about on a line with his head and exclaimed: 'Oh, Swaim, can't you stop this?' And again, 'Oh, Swaim.' I then saw him looking at me with a staring expression. I asked him if he was suffering much pain. Receiving no answer I repeated the question with like result. I then concluded that he was either dying or was having a severe spasm and called to Daniel, who was at the door, to tell Dr. Bliss and Mrs. Garfield to come in immediately. This occurred at ten minutes past ten o'clock. Dr. Bliss came in in a few minutes and I asked him if he had any stimulants, and told the doctor that he seemed

to be dying. The doctor took hold of his wrist and felt his pulse and said that he was dying. I then sent Daniel to arouse the house. At that moment Colonel Rockwell came in, and Dr. Bliss said: 'Let us rub his limbs,' which we did. In a very few moments Mrs. Garfield came in and said: 'What does this mean?' and a moment after exclaimed: 'Oh, why am I made to suffer this cruel wrong!' At 10.35 P. M. the sacrifice was completed. He breathed his last calmly and peacefully."

Dr. Bliss, speaking of the President's last moments, said: "He was not conscious after I arrived. The attendants did not fully realize his condition. He had spoken to General Swaim only a moment before, and the latter could not believe that the end was coming. As soon as I entered the room I saw that it would soon be over and I exclaimed: 'My God, Swaim, he is dying! Send for Mrs. Garfield.' He was never conscious after that and did not speak. When I got to the sick-room I found the President powerless. His heart was slightly fluttering. The apparent cause of death was neuralgia of the heart, of which we had had symptoms before in the history of the case. It was most probably embolism. He suffered acute pain for a moment. After that his death was painless. He was awakened by the attack. Private Secretary Brown watched with the remains. He says Mrs. Garfield exhibits great calmness and fortitude. There was a report that she fainted once during the night. This Mr. Brown denies, saying: 'Mrs. Garfield is not a woman who faints.'"

The President's body was left in the charge of his family during the night; Mrs. Garfield keeping her sad vigil over the beloved remains.

Immediately upon the death of the President the members of the Cabinet present at Long Branch telegraphed the sad news to Vice-President Arthur, at New York, requesting him to take the oath of office as President of the United States, and to repair to Long Branch at the earliest possible moment. To this the Vice-President replied that he would comply with their wishes.

The news of the President's death was communicated to the press correspondents by Attorney-General MacVeagh, and was by them at once telegraphed to all parts of the country, so that by 11 o'clock, or shortly after, it was known throughout the United States. It was everywhere received with expressions of the profoundest sorrow, and in all the cities, towns, and villages of the Union, the midnight air was sadly musical with the deep booming of tolling bells. All through the night the streets continued full of crowds, and when the morning of the 20th dawned, business edifices, public buildings, and private residences were draped heavily in mourning, thus mutely testifying to the nation's grief. Public meetings were held in various parts of the country, official bodies and learned societies met, and resolutions of sorrow and sympathy were adopted. In every manner in which the grief of the nation could be shown, it was testified in the most earnest way. Nor did these expressions of grief come from the United States alone. From all parts of the

civilized world messages of condolence were received from sovereigns and rulers, municipal authorities, distinguished men, cities, corporations, and others, all showing the strong hold the martyred President had gained upon the respect of the world. The Queen of England, whose womanly sympathy we have elsewhere noticed, sent the following message, which was one of the earliest to arrive, to Mrs. Garfield in person :

“Words cannot express the deep sympathy I feel with you at this terrible moment. May God support and comfort you as He alone can.”

The news of the President's death was also telegraphed to his mother. The aged lady was staying at the time at the house of her son-in-law, Mr. M. G. Larabee, of Solon, Ohio. The *Cleveland Leader* thus describes the receipt of the news :

“Mr. Larabee and family had retired to rest on Monday evening, feeling there was but little hope that the morning could bring favorable news. Early this morning a messenger came in hot haste, bearing the telegram that told the sad tale. Mother Garfield was not awake, and it was at once concluded to await until she had arisen and taken her breakfast before telling her that her boy, the pride of her life, had gone home to his Maker. The rest of the relatives were informed and then the query arose, “Who will break the news to mother?” Mrs. Larabee's sister, Mary, was finally chosen to impart the sad tidings, but her heart failed her. About 8 o'clock Mrs. Garfield arose, and after dressing spent some time in reading her Bible, as is her custom. Then she went into the dining-room,

where her breakfast was awaiting her. Refreshed by a night of rest she was more cheerful than she had been for several days. Mr. Larabee, unable to conceal his emotion, left the room. Finally the old lady turned to her daughter Mary, saying :

“Is there any news yet this morning, Mary?”

Mrs. Larabee’s heart failed. She could not blast the hopes expressed in that voice and exhibited in that dear old face.

“Eat your breakfast, mother,” she said.

“But I want to hear from my James first,” said the loving mother.

The telegram that was so soon to bring grief and anguish to her hopeful mother lay on the shelf, and seeing it, she took it and was about to read it, saying : “Here it is now. I must read it before I eat.” Her granddaughter, Ellen Larabee, fearing that so sudden a shock would be fatal, took the despatch from her hand and said :

“I will read it to you, grandma. Are you prepared for—for—bad news?”

“Why, no,” said grandma ; “I am not prepared for bad news, and there isn’t any bad news this morning, is there?”

“Yes, grandma.”

“Oh, Nellie, he is not—he cannot be dead?”

“Grandma, his spirit passed away last night.”

“Oh, it cannot be. It must not be. I *cannot* have it so. My James, my James dead. No, I cannot believe you ; let me see the despatch.”

She read it and then that grand old heart broke.

Dropping the white paper, which fell to the floor, its terrible mission performed, she fell backwards into a chair moaning and wringing her hands, while the bitter tears coursed down her pale cheeks.

There was an agony that speech cannot express or pen portray, a mother in Israel weeping for her son who was not, and refused to be comforted. The boy who had been her hope and pride, the idol of her heart, was dead. To-morrow will be her eightieth birthday and it will be a sad day to her. With tearful eyes she said :

“To-morrow I will be eighty years old, but I will not see the beginning of another year. James has gone and I shall not be long after him.”

She succeeded in composing herself somewhat after the first shock had passed off, but all day long an occasional sob would convulse her loving heart and she would repeat the sentence : “He is gone ; he is gone ! Oh ! I cannot have it so.”

At Mentor a similar scene was enacted. The family had been apprised of the President's death at about twelve o'clock by Dr. J. P. Robinson, who received a telegram from Mary Herrick, of Cleveland, about 11.30. Rudolph, Mrs. Garfield's father, Joseph Rudolph, her brother, his wife and the President's two little sons, Irving and Abram, and their governess, Mrs. McGraff, were at the residence when Dr. Robinson, with an outburst of sobs, told Joseph that James was dead. The former grasped Robinson's hand, and with white lips and eyes moistened with tears replied in a calm voice :

“I am not disappointed; we expected it, doctor.”

Only Joseph, his wife and father Rudolph were informed of his death at that time. The citizens of Mentor were sleeping quietly, in hope that their revered neighbor was in no immediate danger.

Tuesday, September 20th, was passed at Elberon in making arrangements for the transfer of the body to Washington City, from which it had been decided the funeral should take place. On the same day an autopsy was held upon the body by the surgeons who had been in attendance upon the President, assisted by several others. The following is their official statement of the causes of the President's death :

“By previous arrangement a post-mortem examination of the body of President Garfield was made this afternoon, in the presence and with the assistance of Drs. Hamilton, Agnew, Bliss, Barnes, Woodward, Reycurn, Andrew H. Smith, of Elberon, and Acting-Assistant Surgeon D. S. Lamb, of the Army Medical Museum, Washington. The operation was performed by Dr. Lamb. It was found that the ball, after fracturing the right eleventh rib, had passed through the spinal column in front of the spinal canal, fracturing the body of the first lumbar vertebra, driving a number of small fragments of bone into the adjacent soft parts and lodging below the pancreas about two inches and a half to the left of the spine and behind the peritoneum, where it had become completely encysted. The immediate cause of death was secondary hemor-

rhage from one of the mesenteric arteries adjoining the track of the ball, the blood rupturing the peritoneum and nearly a pint escaping into the abdominal cavity. This hemorrhage is believed to have been the cause of the severe pain in the lower part of the chest complained of just before death.

“An abscess cavity, six inches by four in dimensions, was found in the vicinity of the gall bladder, between the liver and the transverse colon, which were strongly adherent. It did not involve the substance of the liver and no communication was found between it and the wound. A long suppurating channel extended from the external wound, between the loin muscles and the right kidney, almost to the right groin. This channel, now known to be due to the burrowing of pus from the wound, was supposed during life to have been the track of the ball.

“On an examination of the organs of the chest evidences of severe bronchitis were found on both sides, with broncho-pneumonia of the lower portions of the right lung, and, though to a much less extent, of the left. The lungs contained no abscesses and the heart no clots. The liver was enlarged and fatty, but free from abscesses. Nor were any found in any other organ except the left kidney, which contained near its surface a small abscess about one-third of an inch in diameter.

“In reviewing the history of the case in connection with the autopsy it is quite evident that the different suppurating surfaces, and especially the fractured,

spongy tissue of the vertebra, furnish a sufficient explanation of the septic condition which existed.

D. W. BLISS,
J. K. BARNES,
J. J. WOODWARD,
ROBERT REYBURN,
FRANK H. HAMILTON,
D. HAYES AGNEW,
ANDREW H. SMITH,
D. S. LAMB.

The arrangements for the funeral were prepared under the supervision of the Attorney-General, Hon. Wayne MacVeagh. It was decided to leave Elberon on the morning of the 21st, on the special train that had brought the President and his family to Long Branch. Upon reaching Washington the remains were to be conducted to the Capitol, where they were to lie in state in the rotunda until the 23d, when the same special train would convey them direct to Cleveland, Ohio, there to remain in state until Monday, the 26th, when they would be buried in Lake View Cemetery, the spot chosen for the interment.

The morning of the 21st saw the people of Elberon and its vicinity astir at an early hour. They came from every direction and in all sorts of vehicles. There must have been two thousand of them by 8.30, when the doors were opened, and a more quiet, orderly congregation never took a farewell look at mortal remains. Two lines of artillerymen reached from the Elberon porch to the driveway under the Franklyn Cottage, but

they were far enough apart to allow the crowd to pass comfortably along. The body lay on a bier in the parlor, and the entrance was made through the driveway by turning to the right and, after passing the remains, turning to the left and going out the great door in the east front. The church bells tolled meanwhile and the occasion was an exceedingly impressive one. Two sentries stood at the entrance of the parlor in order to see that there was no pushing and that but one person went in at a time. Nobody was allowed to stop, but simply glanced at the face of the dead President on the way through the room. A soldier stood at the foot and another at the head of the casket. The casket was a massive one, but unpretentious in appearance. It was covered with a rich black cloth, and with the exception of heavy silver mountings was entirely plain. It had a satin lining across the top, and from the foot of the casket upwards extended two long sago palm leaves. On the lid was a silver plate containing the following inscription :

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD,

Born November 19, 1831.

Died, President of the United States, September 19, 1881.

In the corridor forming the background of the room stood General Swaim, with Harry Garfield on his right and Colonel Rockwell on his left. They stood almost motionless, save at intervals when some lady—and there were many such in the groups that crowded into the cottage—would be overcome by her feelings. Young Harry could not witness these repeated expressions of

sorrow and sympathy without emotion, and he would look into the face of General Swaim, while tears, that he in vain tried to repress, trickled down his cheeks. In spite of General Swaim's frequent whispers to him to remain firm he was unable to control himself, and his deep distress attracted general attention as the crowd moved by. It was not known, except to the immediate friends of the family, that he stood there at the request of his mother, and that unseen she was pouring forth her grief. Colonel Rockwell stood almost immovable as a statue, pale, resolute and cool. C. O. Rockwell, brother-in-law of Mrs. Garfield, sat behind in company with Dr. Boynton. At the end of half an hour the casket was closed, preparatory to the funeral services, and those who arrived after that time were not permitted to enter.

At half-past nine Chief-Justice Waite, Secretary and Mrs. Blaine, Secretary and Mrs. Windom, Secretary and Mrs. Hunt, Postmaster-General and Mrs. James, and Secretaries Lincoln, Kirkwood and Attorney-General MacVeagh arrived at the cottage. There were present, besides the family and attendants, the members of the Cabinet and their wives and a few personal friends, not more than fifty in all. When the time for the solemnities was announced, the doors and windows were closed and all sounds were hushed. The services were conducted, at Mrs. Garfield's request, by the Rev. Charles J. Young, the pastor of the Reformed Church at Long Branch. As it was necessary to be prompt at the depot, only five minutes could be occupied by the clergyman. Mr. Young read a few appro-

priate passages from the Scriptures relating to death and resurrection, and then offered a touching prayer.

As soon as the prayer was ended Mrs. Garfield, heavily veiled, accompanied by her son Harry, passed from the cottage to the train and entered the first coach. She exhibited the same fortitude which has been so characteristic all through these trying weeks. Miss Mollie Garfield and Miss Rockwell, Colonel Swaim, Colonel and Mrs. Rockwell, Dr. Boynton and C. O. Rockwell also entered the first coach. The members of the Cabinet and their wives took seats in the second coach. The following persons comprised the rest of the party on the train: Private Secretary J. Stanley Brown, Executive Clerk Warren S. Young, John K. Van Warmer, Chief Clerk Post Office Department; John Jameson, Railway Mail Service; Ridgley Hunt, son of the Secretary of the Navy; C. F. James, son of the Postmaster General; Mr. Jay Stone, private secretary to Secretary Lincoln; Ex-Sheriff Daggett, of Brooklyn; Colonel H. C. Corbin and Messrs. Atchison, Rickard and the other attendants upon the late President and Mrs. Garfield during the sojourn here.

The casket was carried from the cottage by six strong men, passing through a guard of soldiers formed in parallel lines. It was placed in the third coach. There were five hundred people who stood at a respectful distance watching the procession. The train stopped on the track about a quarter of a mile above Elberon Station and directly in front of the cottage. To this point the special train which brought President Arthur and General Grant from New York was run. These

gentlemen left their train and took seats in the second car of the funeral train. Just before the start Governor Ludlow, of New Jersey, accompanied by a number of minor State officials and members of the Legislature, arrived on the scene and stood with uncovered heads as the train moved off.

The train left Elberon at 10 o'clock A. M., and reached Washington at 4.35 P. M.

As the train slowly rolled into the depot, everybody upon the platform was uncovered, and a stillness as of the grave pervaded the vast throng upon the outside. Soon Mrs. Garfield, assisted by Secretary Blaine, descended from the car, and taking his arm upon her right and that of her son Harry upon her left, she walked directly to the carriage in waiting. Her face was completely concealed by a heavy black veil, which hung nearly to the ground, and whatever emotions she may have experienced were sacred from the sight of those who gazed upon her as the central figure in that sad pageant. She entered the state carriage, and was followed by her daughter Mollie, her son Harry, Mrs. Rockwell and Miss Rockwell. The others of the Presidential party were: President Arthur, who leaned upon the arm of Senator Jones, of Nevada; General Grant and General Beale, General Swaim and Mrs. Swaim, Colonel Rockwell, Colonel Corbin, Dr. Bliss and daughter, Dr. Boynton, Dr. Agnew, Dr. Hamilton, Attorney-General MacVeagh, wife and two sons, Secretary and Mrs. Hunt, Secretary and Mrs. Lincoln and son, Postmaster General and Mrs. James and Secretary Kirkwood. The first three carriages received the ladies of

the party, who did not accompany the procession to the Capitol. After they had moved on a short distance from the entrance the casket appeared, borne on the shoulders of eight soldiers of the Second Artillery, detailed from the Arsenal barracks; on the right in a single file and headed by Adjutant-General Drum were the officers of the army, and upon the left the officers of the navy, under the lead of Rear-Admiral Nichols. As the casket was borne to the hearse the Marine Band, stationed across the street, played "Nearer, my God, to Thee," while every head was bowed and many eyes were dimmed. The sad strains of the sweetly familiar hymn, the hush that had fallen upon the scene and the grief mirrored on thousands of faces marked the picture with shadings that years cannot efface from the memory of those who stood about the bier of the dead President.

After the casket had been placed in the hearse, the remainder of the party entered their carriages and took place in the procession. The hearse used was furnished by Undertaker Speare, of Washington, and is known as the Centennial hearse—it having been awarded the prize at the Centennial Exhibition. It was draped in black, of rich and heavy material, wholly unrelieved by any other color, and was drawn by six iron-gray horses, whose trappings were also draped in sombre black. President Arthur's carriage followed immediately after the hearse, and in it were President Arthur, Secretary Blaine, Chief-Justice Waite and Secretary Windom. The carriage containing Mrs. Garfield and daughter was driven down Pennsylvania avenue to Four-and-a-Half street, and thence to the residence of Attorney-General

MacVeagh, whose guest she was during her stay in that city. As soon as the last of the Presidential party had entered their carriages the signal was given by the bugle, and the military escort formed in line and the mournful procession started on its way to the Capitol in the following order :

Platoon of Mounted Police.
General Ayres and Mounted Staff.
Washington Light Infantry and Band.
Union Veteran Corps.
National Rifles.
Washington Light Guard.
Capitol City Guard.
United States Marine Band and Drum Corps, 50 men.
Detachment of United States Marines.
Second United States Artillery Band.
Four Companies of Heavy Artillery and One Light Battery.
Washington and Columbia Commanderies of Knights Templar.

Then followed the hearse, flanked on either side by a single line of army and navy officers, among them being General Sherman and Generals Drum, Meigs, Sackett, Poe, Dodge, McKeever, Ruggles, Breck, Colonel Barr, and about fifty others of the army, and Rear-Admiral Nichols, Commodores English and Sicard, Pay Director Tooker, Captain DeKraft and Captain C. H. Wells, Commanders Howell, Manly, Howeson, Law, Lieutenants Schreeder, Belden, Wainwright, Bartlett, Spechton and Sebree, and about fifty others. After the hearse came the carriage of President Arthur, with a mounted policeman upon either side, and following it a half dozen other carriages with the members of the Cabinet and others who had accompanied the remains from Elberon. A platoon of mounted police brought up the rear.

With muffled drums and solemn funeral dirge the procession moved slowly up the avenue. A dense mass lined the sidewalks all the way from Sixth street to the east front of the Capitol, and along this portion of the route the crowd was apparently as great as upon the occasion of the late President's inaugural procession. The comparison between the two occasions was doubtless in many minds, and numerous expressions of sorrow were made at the sad contrast. As the procession moved up the avenue scarcely a sound was heard save that from the feet of moving men and horses. Hats were removed and heads were bowed as by a common impulse of deep and unfeigned grief as the procession moved on toward the Capitol. Here at the east front of the building a vast assemblage had congregated to view the funeral cortege. At the foot of the steps there was a double file of Senators and Representatives, headed by their respective officers, waiting in respectful silence to escort the remains into the rotunda.

At precisely 5.10 the head of the sad procession, moving around the south side of the Capitol, arrived at the east front, the arms of the military being reversed and the bands playing the Dead March. The order was then given to carry arms, and the troops came to a front face, while amid the muffled beat of the drums the hearse and its attendant train of carriages drew slowly up in front of the escort. A hush came over the multitude, and heads were reverently uncovered as the casket was carefully lifted from the hearse. The officers of the army and navy drew up in parallel lines on either side of the hearse, and the Marine Band

played again, with much sentiment, "Nearer, my God, to Thee," as with solemn tread the remains of President Garfield were borne into the rotunda and placed upon the catafalque, the Senators and Representatives preceding and ranging themselves on each side of the dais. Close behind the casket walked President Arthur and Secretary Blaine, who were followed by Chief-Justice Waite and Secretary Windom, General Grant and Secretary Hunt, Secretary Lincoln and Attorney-General MacVeagh, Secretary Kirkwood and Postmaster-General James, Colonel Rockwell and General Swaim, and Colonel Corbin and Private Secretary Brown.

At 5.35 the lid of the casket was opened and the face of the late President was exposed to view. Noiselessly President Arthur and Secretary Blaine approached and gazed upon the face of the dead, and then slowly and sadly passed out of the hall. A line was formed by Sergeant-at-Arms Bright, and one by one those present advanced and glanced at the emaciated and discolored face of the dead President. The public at large were then admitted, and hundreds of persons testified by their reverential conduct and mournful countenances the sorrow which they experienced in looking upon the features of their murdered President.

The catafalque, upon which the coffin of the President was placed, is thus described by an eye-witness:

"The catafalque stands in the centre of the rotunda. About six inches from the stone floor there is a platform covered with black velvet. Upon it rests the structure which contains the coffin. It also is heavily

draped with black velvet and silk, and a silver rim is at the head and foot. The catafalque, upon completion this morning, was covered with the American flag. It is the same bier upon which rested the remains of President Lincoln, Chief-Justice Chase, Senator Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens. The surroundings are decorated in good taste. Looking from the catafalque each of the four entrances is hung heavy with black. There is a rosette in the middle of these hangings and one at either side. The large pictures which hang on the walls around are draped with rosettes and pendants of black cloth. On the cornices above the pictures there is a repetition of the black pendants and rosettes. The first row of big windows above the cornice are in black, also the balustrade below, which constitutes the first inside balcony. Above that there are no decorations. The House and Senate chambers are in black and all of the many corridors and approaches thereto are hung along the walls in black, with rosettes and crossed drapings over each archway.

The catafalque thus described was placed in the centre of the rotunda, the vast circular hall which lies under the dome of the Capitol. This was a blaze of light. During the night a guard of honor, composed of officers of the Army of the Cumberland, kept watch over the dead President. All through the night the people poured through the rotunda, to gaze upon the face of their martyred chieftain, and until half-past six on the afternoon of the 22d, they came in a steady throng. It is estimated that over 100,000 persons thus viewed the remains. They comprised both sexes, all

ages and conditions, from the new President down to the humblest negro. Late in the afternoon it was discovered that the body of President Garfield was beginning to decompose. As it was the wish of Mrs. Garfield that in such an event, the features of her husband should no longer be exposed to view, Secretary Blaine, about half-past six in the afternoon, ordered the coffin to be closed. Still the vast throngs continued to pour through the rotunda, merely to take a last view of the casket which enshrined their martyred President. This continued until a quarter-past eleven on the morning of the 23d.

Precisely as the clock struck that hour, the doors of the rotunda were closed, and the public excluded from the hall. This was the hour designated for the family of President Garfield to take their last look at him. As soon as the rotunda had been closed, the family party entered. It consisted of Mrs. Garfield, who entered leaning on the arm of General Swaim. Sergeant-at-Arms Bright preceded the two. Then followed Harry Garfield, supporting his sister, Mollie, and his cousin, Miss Rockwell. Colonel and Mrs. Rockwell were directly behind, while Attorney-General MacVeagh and Mrs. Swaim concluded the list. As they filed through, the rotunda door from the north closed behind them. No one else was admitted. Mrs. Garfield was dressed in the same mourning garments she wore from Elberon. Realizing as she entered the rotunda that they were alone she seemed to throw off her timid, hesitating air, and with a quick, nervous gesture she cast aside her heavy veil. The face thus

disclosed was pale, but no paler than it has appeared for some time past. Her eyes, always bright and clear, showed no evidence of recent weeping. On the contrary, they shone with a brighter lustre, as if the consciousness of being alone with her dead gave to her an added courage and strength. Of the two Mrs. Rockwell showed the greater evidence of mental and physical depression. Her head was bowed and her general mien was that of one struggling under a load greater than she could bear. Harry Garfield, too, looked broken, while Miss Mollie's face was pitifully pale and sad.

Within a few feet of the catafalque Mrs. Garfield paused and bowed her head as if in prayer. The children and others advanced to the casket. The face which, owing to decomposition, was hidden from view through the day, was disclosed for their benefit. But, oh, how changed! The features, once so manly and strong, were pinched and worn. The face was terribly discolored, and none but the eyes of love could discover in its lineaments aught that looked familiar. Harry, who was the first to approach, gazed for a moment at the inanimate form, then bending forward he gravely imprinted a kiss on the wrinkled brow; then placing his kerchief to his face walked sadly away. Miss Mollie displayed greater emotion. Throwing one arm lovingly over the casket, as if to embrace it, she exclaimed, "Oh, papa, papa." She then kissed the face repeatedly, her graceful form trembling with grief, until gently removed by Mrs. Rockwell. After the others had paid their last tribute of respect, they all

withdrew and Mrs. Garfield was alone with the dead. What thoughts must have filled her mind as she stood beside that bier! Doubtless she recalled his early struggles to attain an education, while battling manfully to gain the necessities of life, their youthful marriage and happy home life, the birth of their children, his honored career as a soldier and statesman and this—this was the end of all his greatness. At the expiration of twenty minutes she joined her friends in the corridor. Her veil was again lowered, her step hesitating and slow. In her hand she bore some of the flowers that adorned the bier. She entered the carriage and was hastily driven away. Those eyes that beheld her to-day will never see her again, for Lucretia Garfield has paid her last visit to Washington City. Its very presence is hateful to her by reason of the sad tragedy that has robbed her of her husband devoted and true, and the nation of one of the grandest figures in the history of our day.

Three o'clock was the hour fixed for the funeral services. By that time over one hundred thousand people surrounded the Capitol. Long before that time those entitled to participate in these services began to seek admission. Entrance was by card only, and the space assigned to the general public was very limited. Seats had been reserved for the few thus honored. The remainder of the audience were admitted by reason of their official positions. The whole number of seats prepared was fifteen hundred. The bulk of them were for members of the Cabinet and their ladies, the foreign legations, officers of the army and navy,

Senators and members of the House of Representatives and of the press. The rotunda was divided into four sections of seats. The division was made by the lines of entrance from each of the four doors. The seats back of the first row circling around the catafalque were chairs. The first row of the circle, only broken by the aisles of entrance, was made up of sofas, with a leather chair here and there. The row was devoted to the use of the representatives of the President's family and the Cabinet officers. From the west the first three rows of chairs in the semi-circle were reserved for the members of the House. The first three rows to the left were reserved for the members of the Senate. The diameter of the circle enclosed by the first row of seats and in the centre of which stood the catafalque was about thirty feet. At the head of the coffin was raised a small platform about one foot high. It was covered with black. Upon this platform was a small table with black covering for the use of the officiating minister. The seats south of the catafalque were placed for Mrs. Garfield's immediate friends—General Swaim, Colonel Rockwell, Mrs. and Miss Rockwell and others. On the north side of the catafalque the front row of seats was reserved for the President, ex-Presidents Grant and Hayes, and the Cabinet and their families. The second row on that side was occupied by the Senators and their wives. Back of the Senators sat the Diplomatic Corps and back of them the Army of the Cumberland, leaving about eight rows of chairs still farther back on that side for the general public.

The first arrival in body was the Beauseant Commandery of Knights Templar from Baltimore. They marched in, took a position surrounding the corpse and performed what is known as the silent service of the order. They then marched out of the rotunda. The chief object of their visit to the coffin was to deposit a floral offering. The rotunda filled up slowly, notwithstanding the immense throng that had surrounded the Capitol. The coffin and catafalque remained as on the previous day, but the floral offerings had been rearranged to the greatest advantage.

About two o'clock the survivors of the Army of the Cumberland, wearing white badges on their breasts and crape on the left arm, filed into the rotunda by the door leading from the Senate side and took the seats specially provided for them. Ropes had been stretched on the outside of the Capitol to keep back the pressure of the crowds, and by this means the doorkeepers were enabled to perform their duty in the way of taking tickets without being overrun. This accounted for the gradual filling of the hall. The Diplomatic Corps formed in procession in the Senate wing and entered the rotunda, headed by Chin Lan Pin and the Chinese delegation. Among the diplomats were Chin Lan Pin, Aristarchi Bey, Victor Drummond, the Spanish Minister, the Charge d'Affaires of Germany, the Russian Minister, two secretaries of the Russian legation, the Brazilian Minister and secretary and about twenty others. The corps was in full uniform. As their uniforms are gaudy and rich they made the spot where they sat readily distinguishable and one that caught

the eye at once. The officers of the army and navy sat in groups. They were as a rule unaccompanied by ladies, though there was a sprinkling of womankind. All the employés of the White House were present. They came in together, accompanied by the ladies of their families. All the seats in the circular space were occupied by three o'clock.

It was half-past two when the pall-bearers, who were selected by Mrs. Garfield from the members of their little church on Vermont avenue, entered and took their seats. They were followed by the Judges of the Supreme Court, Colonel Corbin, Dr. Boynton, Private Secretary Brown and the other White House people, with their ladies. A few minutes later the Philharmonic Society, to the number of twenty-five or thirty, came in, standing near the bier. Then came the members of the House and next the Senators, by their respective doors, and these were immediately followed by a delegation from Philadelphia. The greatest interest was apparently awakened when General Grant and ex-President Hayes entered. They came from the Senate side arm in arm, and as they entered the entire audience rose to their feet. Following the distinguished pair came President Arthur, leaning on the arm of his Secretary of State. They took the right of the front row of chairs and sofas, Mr. Arthur being next to the ministers and the coffin. He was dressed with faultless taste in plain black, with black scarf and pin and black kids, and carried his black silk hat in his right hand, his left being upon Blaine's arm.

At three o'clock every seat was filled and all available standing room was occupied. The funeral ceremonies began exactly at three o'clock and were very impressive. The ceremonies were opened with the hymn, "Asleep in Jesus," beautifully rendered by the volunteer choir. Rev. Dr. Rankin then ascended the raised platform at the head of the catafalque and read in a clear, distinct voice a number of selections from the Scriptures, which were listened to with breathless attention. Rev. Dr. Isaac Errett then offered an impressive prayer. As the closing words of the prayer died away, the Rev. T. D. Power, of the Vermont avenue Christian Church, of which President Garfield was a member, delivered a feeling address. He spoke in a clear voice and was distinctly heard in every portion of the hall. His eulogy of the dead President was touching. His example, he said, as son, husband and father, is a glory to this nation. He had no enemies. The hand that struck him was not the hand of his enemy, but the enemy of the position, the enemy of the country, the enemy of God. At the conclusion of Dr. Power's address Rev. J. G. Butler offered prayer and the ceremonies were over.

The ceremonies lasted one hour, and when the last prayer was pronounced the army and navy officers composing the body-guard filed out the east door of the rotunda and down the steps, taking their places around the hearse. Then came the coffin, borne by the pallbearers designated. The immense multitude which had stood patiently waiting the termination of the services at once uncovered and remained perfectly quiet while

the corpse was carried and placed in the hearse, the clergymen, led by the Rev. Mr. Power, following. At this stage the scene was one which never could be forgotten. As the coffin was borne slowly down the steps, the vast assemblage, which had been waiting for hours in the hot sun, uncovered their heads. Many women snatched off their bonnets, forgetful of appearances and only eager to exhibit their respect for the remains of the late President. The bugler on his prancing horse beyond blew the attention; the word of command passed down the line; the minute gun to the right belched forth its thunder; the Marine Band directly opposite struck up: "Nearer, my God, to Thee," and the head of the military wheeled into platoon and moved on. From the steps above it was a grand sight. While the procession moved to permit the carriages to approach the curb the distinguished throng waited in line upon the steps. It was a collection of intellectual and official greatness rarely ever seen together. The pall-bearers stood on the asphaltum below. The officers of the army and navy—from the young and beardless sub-lieutenant to the battle-scarred, grizzled old colonel, from youthful ensign to aged admiral—stood about the hearse. On the lower step were the officiating clergymen; then next above the relatives of the family; above them the attaches of the White House; then ex-Presidents Grant and Hayes; above them President Arthur and Secretary Blaine; then the Cabinet. The Diplomatic Corps, in a blaze of gold and jewels and side arms, were still further up, and then the Supreme Court, followed by Senators and members of the House

—these last upon the portico itself. For twenty minutes they stood thus, silently waiting, until, pair by pair, they filled the hundred carriages which had been parked below. The procession was not so long, but it was a funeral procession and consumed an entire hour in reaching the depot, a third of a mile away. Passing between the thousands packed densely against the ropes, it was a most remarkable and striking journey. Every head was uncovered as they passed. Not a sound was heard, save the occasional clash of a hoof upon the iron tramway and the low funeral dirge of the band.

At the depot the scene was brief, and when the coffin was borne from the hearse it was quickly ended. As the head of the mounted procession rounded the Sixth street corner and turned toward the depot, the gate leading to the cars was pushed back and twelve soldiers issued forth. These were the picked men, with an officer, who were to accompany the remains to Cleveland. At the same time the open gate disclosed ten of the most distinguished officers in the military and naval service of the United States. They were ranged facing each other, the military on the left as we enter, the navy on the right. On the one hand were Generals Sherman, Sheridan, Hancock, Meigs and Drum. On the other were Admirals Rogers and Stanley, Commodore English, Surgeon-General Wales and Pay Director Luther. They were in full regimentals and quarter-deck and presented an interesting sight. It was only when the gate was sliding back and forth that the old heroes in their blue and gold flashed before

the crowd which pressed against the ropes outside. When the bugler blew a halt the troops formed in line on the opposite side of the street, and the hearse and following carriage drove up. As the coffin was removed therefrom the bugle again sounded, the present was given, the cannon boomed, the bells of the city tolled, the draped colors were dropped and the band again played a dirge. The coffin was borne on the shoulders of the eight soldiers between the double ranks of the army and navy, between the Generals and Admirals within, and the pageant was over. The carriages then began to arrive, one after another depositing their loads upon the curb. The coffin bore the Queen of England's wreath and the crossed palm leaves as it disappeared from sight. The carriage containing Dr. Boynton, Colonel Rockwell, Colonel Corbin, and C. Q. Rockwell, landed its load immediately after the preachers. Then came the White House attachés, then Grant and Hayes, then President Arthur and Secretary Blaine, then Secretaries Lincoln and Windom and their wives, then Postmaster-General James and Secretary Hunt and their wives, Secretary Kirkwood and Gen. Beale and Assistant Secretary Hitt and Mrs. Blaine. These were followed by Senators and Members and others who were going to Cleveland with the remains. The legations merely drove past without getting out. The Justices of the Supreme Court went with the body. In a short time President Arthur returned to his carriage from the depot and was quickly joined by General Grant, the two driving away together.

To avoid the crowd about the depot Mrs. Garfield

was taken to the corner of Maine Avenue and Sixth street, and an engine and two cars, including the one intended for her use, were run down the track, and she was taken on board the train without attracting any attention. The funeral train was the same used on the trip from Long Branch, with two additional cars. The first was the baggage car and the second was occupied by Mrs. Garfield, her daughter and son, Mrs. Reed, General Swain, Colonel Rockwell, Dr. Boynton, J. Stanley Brown, Warren Young and Mr. Judd. The third carried the members of the Cabinet and wives, ex-President Hayes, Justices of the Supreme Court and S. A. Brown, Chief Clerk of the State Department. Upon the fourth car were General Sherman and Generals Sheridan, Hancock, Meigs, Drum and Sackett, Admiral Porter, Vice-Admiral Rowan, Commodore English, Surgeon-General Wales and Pay-Director Tucker. The fifth bore the remains of the President and the military guard, composed of six soldiers and a sergeant from the Second Artillery. The sixth and last car of the train was a baggage car.

The train left Washington at 5.16 p. m., an hour behind time. It was followed by a second train at 5.24, bearing a number of members of the two Houses of Congress and other distinguished personages, and was known as "the Congressional Train." It kept about twenty minutes behind "the Funeral Train" throughout the journey. The times of arrival at the following places refer to "the Funeral Train." Baltimore was reached at 6.30 p. m.; Marysville, Pa. (the junction of the Northern Central with the Pennsylvania Railway,

and a few miles above Harrisburg) at 9.31 P. M.; Altoona, at 1.35 A. M., on Saturday, 24th; Pittsburgh, at 6 A. M.; Wellsville, at 8.30 A. M.; and Cleveland, at 1.30 P. M. on the 24th.

It was the wish of Mrs. Garfield that the "Funeral Train" should stop only at such points as the judgment of the railway officials should deem necessary. This wish was obeyed. She also requested that the people along the route should refrain from all demonstrations. But the great heart of the nation was too deeply moved to allow the people to carry out this course of action entirely. All along the route immense crowds gathered at the stations. From the moment the "Funeral Train" left Washington until its arrival at Cleveland, it passed through a steady line of people. At every station they gathered by the thousands, and in the fields and along the tracks they stood with heads uncovered until the train, covered with crape, whizzed by them. The expressions of grief were universal. Hardly a house along the entire route that was not covered with emblems of mourning. On every hand flags at half-mast and drooping crape told of the sorrow in every heart. Whenever the train entered a town the church bells tolled, and in many places flowers were strewn upon the track. The first great demonstration after leaving Washington was at Baltimore, where several thousand people gathered and reverentially uncovered to the train of mourning. Along the line of the Northern Central Railroad to Harrisburg great crowds of people gathered at every station. The crowds usually remained until the Con-

gressional train had also passed. It followed throughout the night about twenty minutes behind the funeral train.

Although the run from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh over the Pennsylvania Railroad was made entirely at night the crowds were everywhere enormous. It was one continual demonstration from beginning to end. The funeral train reached Altoona at 1.35 Saturday morning. Ten thousand people were assembled at the depot. All the church, fire and other large bells in the city were tolled from the moment the train entered the eastern limits of the town until it passed out of the western. The Hancock and Garfield campaign clubs marched together in full uniform into the depot and stood drawn up in line on both sides of the track while the train passed. At all stations there were crowds, and in the windows of houses along the route were people waving draped flags. At Lewistown the track was strewn with flowers. At Tyrone and Huntington the demonstrations were particularly imposing. The train reached Cresson at 2.29. The trains steamed up the mountain west of Altoona dragged by engines each, and the crowds that had lingered at the depot until after 2 o'clock reluctantly went homeward. Between Altoona and Cresson there were hundreds of the mountaineers standing along the track with uncovered heads in the darkness of the night. The train passed Johnstown at 3.15 A. M. About three thousand people had congregated at the depot with uncovered heads, and all were silent. The bells of the churches, school houses and engine companies were tolled. No stop

was made until Derry was reached. By this time it was nearly 5 o'clock, but even at that hour hundreds of men and women, boys and girls gathered around the train. From that point to Pittsburgh, forty-two miles, no stop was made. The average of twenty-eight miles an hour was maintained, the sections running twenty minutes apart. For ten miles outside of Pittsburgh the track was lined with people, some of whom had apparently remained up all night.

Pittsburgh depot was reached at six o'clock. Dense throngs of people gathered in various parts of the city to see it pass. When the train came to a stop to change engines an elegant pillow of flowers was taken into the funeral car and placed upon the coffin. The train remained at the depot fourteen minutes and then pulled slowly out. All the people about the station remained with uncovered heads and the fire-alarm central bell and the various ones on the churches of the city tolled a morning requiem. At Liberty street and Pennsylvania avenue crossings thousands of persons were assembled, but were kept back from the track by a cordon of policemen. All uncovered their heads as the train passed. In Allegheny there were the same dense masses of people at each street-crossing. The train passed through Allegheny station without stopping and drew slowly through the park, where fully fifteen thousand persons had gathered, including several posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, who lowered their colors as the cars went by. Many ladies were in the throng, and these had brought flowers, which were laid on the track for a quarter of a mile.

From a rustic bridge crossing the tracks flowers were also dropped upon the cars as they passed beneath. The crowd was as silent as the funeral itself, and the signs of grief and affection were everywhere apparent. At the Allegheny outer depot two cars containing the committee having in charge funeral arrangements at Cleveland, who arrived last evening, were attached to the train, and the engine used within the city limits was replaced by a powerful transit locomotive. The funeral train was then started upon the last stage of the journey.

As the two trains steamed west from Pittsburgh the crowds at the way-stations grew larger. The Grand Army of the Republic in line at Rochester, Pa., saluted each car as it passed, while the surrounding crowd stood with uncovered heads. After leaving Rochester the black drapery on the left side of the lunch-car on the second section caught fire from a spark, and it was nearly all burned from that side of the car before the fire could be extinguished. The car itself was not damaged. At East Liverpool the crowd numbered at least two thousand, and a brass band played a slow march as the train passed. The fire department of the town was drawn up in line at the depot. Wellsville, Ohio, was reached by the funeral train at 8.39. The Congressional train caught up at this place with the funeral train, which was delayed because of a request of Mrs. Garfield that the coach in which she was riding should be placed in the rear of the train. The ladies did not sleep well last night because of the heat and being too close to the engine.

Another reason for the change was that Mrs. Garfield desired to be out of reach of the crowd on arriving at Cleveland. Whenever the train made a stop the curtains of Mrs. Garfield's car were drawn down. There was a large crowd, as the funeral train stopped for some time.

Grand preparations had been made at Cleveland for the reception of the funeral party. Long before its arrival there was not standing room on the ground or on the house-tops within an eighth of a mile of Euclid Avenue Station. A large stand was erected on the avenue and the seats sold on it for one dollar. Windows in Harkness Block and neighboring buildings sold for five dollars. Pen is inadequate to describe the great wavering, crowded gathering of human beings about the depot, on the sidewalks, in the streets, in trees, in windows and on the roofs. The intersection of the avenues looked like a great sea of heads; the side-streets poured in their portion, like the delta streams of a river whose waters are separated by a thousand little islands and go rushing and bounding in different directions until they encounter the swell of the ocean, when their identity is lost. Everybody fought on tiptoe for a view of what was going on, without regard to age, color, sex or social distinction. The swell of the avenue stood shoulder to shoulder with the burly negro, the fashionably-attired belle squeezed and elbowed her way side by side with the beggar-woman.

After some waiting a puff of white smoke was seen issuing over the curve toward the workhouse. There was a roar as hundreds in the vast multitude saw the

faint smoke-cloud and exclaimed: "It's coming." Every man, woman and child was on tiptoe, with necks stretched and clinging to his neighbor's shoulders. In a second, when the dark outline of the engine made a break in the long line of sun-reflecting rails and the train suddenly shot around the curve, everybody made some exclamation, and the screaming all at one time created a sound like the roar of Niagara Falls at a distance. In another second every spectator was struggling with his neighbor to get a sight of the train, which slackened speed gradually and finally stopped across the avenue. The hearse and carriages were drawn up at the curbstone and a sad procession wended its way from the train to the avenue. The car in which the casket was brought was filled with flowers which almost hid the coffin from sight. The coffin was wrapped in triple folds of fine crape and a huge flag. Upon it were a few white flowers and great green leaves. It was borne from the train by ten United States artillerymen, who wore white helmets and who, with drawn swords, took up their positions beside the hearse. Next came the Cleveland committee of escort, who took their position in two files leading from the train to the hearse. Then came Mrs. Garfield, leaning on the arm of Mr. Blaine, her face covered with a dark veil, which almost concealed her identity. They were followed by General Swaim, Mr. and Mrs. Rockwell and Harry and Mollie Garfield. Mrs. Garfield, Harry and Mollie immediately entered James Mason's private carriage and went to his home, where they were to remain as guests. Following Mrs. Garfield's

immediate party came the Cabinet and the guard of honor, among whom were General Sherman, General Sheridan, General Hancock, Quartermaster-General Meigs and Admiral Porter, and one turned from the gilt glare of the army officer to the quiet dress of the civilian to admire the ease and grace of Blaine as he handed the widow into her carriage, bowed low as she was driven away, and turned to join Secretaries Hunt and Kirkwood and thus made a little coterie who are to feel heavily the loss of the friendship of the great man in whose honor all the representative men of the nation were assembled with tear-dimmed eyes and bowed heads.

As soon as the casket had been tenderly placed in the hearse the beautiful black horses drew it slowly down the avenue toward the files of soldiers and Knights Templar, who were drawn up on the west side of the avenue and faced the east, with heads bared and reverently bowed. Each horse was led by a colored groom. Slowly the procession took its march down the avenue in the following order :

Colonel Wilson and Staff.

Silver Gray Band.

First City Troop.

Hearse and horses, guarded by Knights Templar in columns of threes,
and flanked by ten horsemen of the City Troop on each side.

Forty-second Ohio Volunteers.

The Cabinet.

General Sherman and Aides.

Guards of honor, composed of officers of the army and navy.

The catafalque was reached shortly before three o'clock. Immediately a detail of Garfield's own com-

mandery surrounded the gilded bier, with its four tall gilt columns, with the chaplain in the white robes of office and the insignia of his station. A slight pause followed, during which several distinguished citizens, Governor Foster and others, formed on each side of the catafalque, the Knights Templar forming in line on each side of the street entrance to the catafalque. The hearse followed next and rested until the coffin was taken out and borne inside the catafalque by the guard of honor of the Second United States Artillery to the bier, where it was deposited by the Templars with uncovered heads and presented swords. The band played a funeral dirge. A detail of Cleveland Grays, to guard the remains, marched into the catafalque and took position. The Knights countermarched, and led by the band the crowd slowly wended away. An immense concourse gathered at the line around the square, gazing with longing eyes toward the catafalque and all that is mortal of James A. Garfield.

Shortly after placing the remains on the bier on the catafalque Governor Foster announced, at the request of Mrs. Garfield, that the coffin would not be opened.

The pavilion containing the catafalque on which the remains of the President were thus laid in state was erected in the centre of Monumental Park, the finest public square in Cleveland, and was probably the handsomest ornamental structure of its kind ever constructed. It was forty feet square at the base. The four fronts were spanned by arches thirty-six feet high and twenty-four feet wide at the base. The cata-

falque upon which the casket will rest was five and a half feet high, covered with black velvet and handsomely festooned. A long carpeted walk ascended the floor from the east and west fronts. The pavilion was seventy-two feet high to the apex of the roof. From the centre of the roof rose a beautiful gilt spire, supporting the figure of an angel twenty-four feet high. The columns at each side of the arches were ornamented by shields and exquisitely draped. Over these were suspended unfurled flags. The centres of the arches bore similar shields. On the angles of the roof were groups of furled flags. Projecting from the angles of the base were elevated platforms occupied by fully uniformed guards. Each platform was provided with a suitable piece of field artillery.

The structure was appropriately decorated from base to dome with black and white crape. Flowers and flags were displayed on various portions of the pavilion. The interior was beautified with rare plants, choice flowers and exquisite floral designs, two car-loads of which were from Cincinnati. At the east and west entrances to Monumental Park were heavy gothic arches, with drive-ways and openings for foot passengers on each side. They were situated a sufficient distance from the catafalque to appear to be a part of it. The eastern one was covered with crape, with white and black trimmings running down each column and the top bordered with blue and white stars. Added to these were several golden shields. The western gateway was similar in construction and seemed fairly to close up Superior street. On the extreme outside

pillars were the names of the States in black letters. The north and south approaches were in reality gateways, being built with bas reliefs draped in white, with one large central arch and heavy posts on either side. Surmounting all appear large golden eagles and other appropriate designs.

The catafalque was, however, the great temporary monument of attraction. Standing with its four open arches and surmounted by its massive golden ball, its combined grandeur required a closer scrutiny to fully appreciate. Resting on each of its four corners was a cannon, heavily draped in black. Large black flags drooped from each side immediately beneath the cornice, and still lower fell the national colors, with streamers of crape alternating with the bars of red and white. An elegant shield, several feet in length, composed of swords, was conspicuously displayed on the octagon faces of the four sides. Half-circling the arches were choice ferns upon a white background, arranged in triangular shape, and heavy gold lining ran around the pillars. The interior was draped in plain and appropriate bands of rich black goods. At the south of the structure a large platform was erected on a level with the catafalque, on which sat the eminent visitors, the clergy and the singing societies. The catafalque was entered from the east and west by an inclined platform covered with matting. It was sufficiently wide to allow of the passage of not less than thirty persons abreast. During the forenoon wreath upon wreath of rare green were attached to the upper part of the structure. Two car-loads of ferns, leaves,

plants, etc., came Saturday morning from the Cincinnati Exposition. Also a car-load from parties in Philadelphia. The arches were beautifully draped with strings of evergreen.

During Saturday afternoon and night the guards stationed around the pavilion had strict orders to refuse admittance to every one, so the thousands which surrounded it could only stand off and gaze at it. All night long a large crowd kept moving around the bier. The inside of the catafalque was illuminated by two electric lights, and their ghostly brilliancy falling over the sombre bier and the immovable figures of the uniformed Knights Templar, who kept a loving vigil throughout the night, gave to all a weird and unearthly appearance. The sentries paced their beats with slow and measured tread, and there was a hush over all that filled the beholder with awe. All passes for admittance to the inside of the guard-line were countermanded early in the evening, and orders given the guard to allow no one to enter without a written permit from the Mayor. This created some dissatisfaction, and many believed a view of the casket was not to be permitted. It became known, however, that those who wished could begin to pass through the pavilion at 9 o'clock this morning.

During the 25th the public were allowed to pass through the pavilion and view the catafalque. Moving forward, the mourning multitude walked slowly past the receptacle of all that remained of the man who had many times passed over the same spot in all the magnificent vigor of manhood. Many a tear was shed

and many a silent prayer uttered within the sacred precincts of that solemn place. One man, who could not control his emotions, and forgetful of the generous and forgiving spirit of the man to whose clay he was paying homage, said, as the tears streamed down his cheek: "James A. Garfield, you will be avenged, and I will be your avenger." Those who waited until the rush was over, thinking they could pass through the pavilion with ease later in the day, were sadly disappointed. Each incoming train was loaded down with people from all parts of the country, and by 12 o'clock, although at least 35,000 persons had passed through the funeral arch, the crowd had swelled to such proportions that the troops had to clear the streets. Lines of soldiers formed on each side of the streets leading to the arch for half a mile, and no one could join the procession without passing down the outside of these lines. The soldiers were kept on duty in that capacity all day, and in the evening, although a drizzling rain has begun to fall, the same solid mass of humanity half a mile long and five abreast is surging forward. As fast as one moves ahead another takes his place, and thus it is kept going. Men who have visited all quarters of the globe say it was the grandest sight they ever beheld. Ex-Minister Noyes stood mournfully watching the throng, and said, "There is something about this sight which impresses me as nothing has ever impressed me before."

Monday, September 26th, the day appointed for the public funeral of President Garfield, came in bright and clear. The sun rose brilliantly, and a cool breeze swept

in from the lake. At an early hour the streets were alive with people, and by 10 o'clock Monumental Park was surrounded by a surging mass of struggling human beings, so densely packed that women fainted, children screamed, and strong men gasped for breath, as the living mass surged from place to place in the vain endeavor to get nearer the guard line along the route of the procession. The street peddlers were up with the rest, and at work with all their usual noise and clatter. Upon every corner was a little square stand, surmounted and covered by a white canopy, in which was done a business of which those who conducted it and the patrons as well may feel justly proud. On each of the four sides of these canopies was painted in large black letters, "Garfield Monument Fund; \$1 subscriptions received and registered." In one of these alone \$4,000 was collected in the forenoon.

A few moments before 10 o'clock a closed carriage came slowly down the street leading to the square. It was driven up to the catafalque. A lady clad in deep mourning alighted and walked slowly up the incline to the entrance. Every eye was turned that way, and a thousand voices said, "There she is, poor woman." It was Mrs. Garfield. She was soon followed by the family and relatives, the Cabinet, ex-President Hayes, ex-Secretary Evarts, and the members of the official household at Washington who are in the city. When the party had all assembled around the bier the sides of the catafalque were closed with luxuriantly foliaged tropical plants, cutting off the inside from public gaze, and the family and friends were alone with their dead.

After a few moments the sides were again opened, and the services began. The immediate members of the family and near relatives and friends took seats about the casket, and at each corner was stationed a member of the Cleveland Grays, each of whom stood like a statue during the entire services. Meanwhile the crowd in the neighborhood had grown to enormous proportions. It was far greater than ever before seen in the city, but it was decorous, and was seemingly impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. Some dissatisfaction was expressed when it was known that the crowd would not be admitted to the Park during the funeral exercises, but no attempts were made to break through the guard, and all contentedly accepted the situation.

The services began promptly at 10.30. Dr. J. P. Robinson, president of the ceremonies, arose, and, amid the most profound silence, announced Beethoven's "Funeral Hymn," which was finely rendered by the Cleveland Vocal Society. At its conclusion Bishop Bedell, of the Episcopal diocese of Ohio, read selections from the Scriptures, beginning with the fourteenth chapter of Job. Rev. Ross C. Houghton, pastor of the First M. E. Church, followed with a fervent prayer. It was short and impressive. After the vocal society had sung "To Thee, O Lord, I yield my spirit," Rev. Isaac Errett, of Cincinnati, delivered an eloquent address, taking for his text the following: "And the archers shot King Josiah, and the King said to his servants, have me away, for I am sore wounded," etc. He said there was never a mourning in all the world like unto this mourning. "I am not speaking extrava-

gantly," he said, "for I am told it is the result of calculations carefully made that certainly not less than 300,000,000 of the human race share in the sadness and the lamentations, the sorrow and the mourning that belong to this occasion here to-day. It is the chill shadow of a calamity that has extended itself into every home in all this land and into every heart, and that has projected itself over vast seas and oceans into distant lands and awakened the sincerest and profoundest sympathies with us in the hearts of the good of all nations and among all peoples." The speaker then went into a eulogy upon the life of the dead President to show why the whole civilized world should thus be cast down because of his sad death. Said he: "The great lesson to which I desire to call your attention can be expressed in a few words. James A. Garfield went through his whole public life without surrendering for a single moment his Christian integrity, his moral integrity, or his love for the spiritual. Coming into the exciting conflicts of political life with a nature as capable as any of feeling the force of every temptation; with temptation to unholy ambition, with unlawful prizes within his reach, with every inducement to surrender all his religious faith and be known merely as a successful man of the world, from first to last he has manfully adhered to his religious conviction and found the more praise, and gathers in his death all the pure inspiration of the hope of everlasting life." The speaker concluded with a most touching allusion to the stricken family. When he had concluded Rev. Jabez Hall, of the Euclid Avenue

Presbyterian Church, read the "reaper song," which was a favorite of the late President, and after it was sung by the Cleveland Vocal Society, Rev. Charles S. Pomeroy offered prayer and the benediction.

Grandma Garfield bore the services remarkably well, as did also the widow of the President. The only incident which occurred at the pavilion was the request of Grandma Garfield for a drink of water. Many persons construed this as an indication that the old lady was faint, but such was not the case. No one except the family, members of the general committee and distinguished guests were admitted within the gates of the Park.

While the solemn ceremony was in progress the vast crowds were industriously at work arranging themselves along the streets through which the procession was to pass. A line of soldiers was stationed on each side of the streets the whole distance from the square to the cemetery, six miles, and by that means the people were kept in bounds. The curbstones were first sought for by spectators, and all, men, women and children, eagerly sought for and occupied this low position. Then chairs were arranged directly behind the curbstone, and were rapidly filled. Every conceivable elevation which could afford the slightest view of the streets was occupied. House-tops, balconies and windows were filled, and many citizens had private platforms for the accommodation of their friends. By this time the sun, which had brought so much brightness at early morn, seemed to have been reinforced with much more brilliancy, and the lake breeze had died away, leaving the air hot and motionless.

Immediately after the completion of the religious ceremonies, the coffin was removed from the catafalque to the funeral car; this occupied fifteen minutes time. A corps of United States marines from the United States steamer Michigan formed parallel lines from the east side of the pavilion to the east entrance to the Park, through which the casket was borne on the shoulders of the United States artillerymen, under command of Lieutenant Weaver, Second United States Artillery, to the funeral car, followed by the mourners, who took seats in carriages.

The casket having been placed in the car, the procession moved off at five minutes before twelve in the following order:

Marshal-in-chief, General Jas. Barnett; with the following staff:

General Ed. S. Meyer, Adjutant-General; Major W. F. Goodspeed, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain C. C. Dewstoe, Assistant Adjutant-General; Aides-de-camp, General J. J. Elwell, Colonel J. F. Isom, Colonel E. Sawers, Colonel M. L. Dempsy, Colonel A. M. Burns, Colonel E. S. Coe, Colonel A. F. Brinsmade, Major W. P. Edgerson, Colonel L. R. Davis, Colonel S. V. Lameriaux, Colonel W. F. Kinman, Captain Felix Rosenberg, Captain J. C. Hutchins, Captain J. B. Allender, Captain N. D. Fisher, Captain W. J. Gleason, Captain D. H. Kimberly, Captain Frank Rielly, Captain J. Weidenkoff, Captain F. W. Petton, Captain N. Weidenkoff, Captain Percy W. Rice, Captain W. Smith, Captain Theodore Voges, Captain C. E. Burke, Captain Geo. W. Howe, Captain Q. J. Carran, Captain W. H. Fer-
rand.

First Division.—Colonel H. M. Duffield, Detroit Infantry, commanding. Detachment of police; Silver Gray's Band of Cleveland; Boston Independent Fusileers; Spaulding Guards; Company B, 74th Regiment New York National Guards; Owen City Guards; Company F, 74th Regiment New York National Guards; Buffalo City Guards; Cadet Band; Buffalo City Cadets; United States Barracks band, of Columbus, Ohio; Governor's Guard, Columbus, Ohio; Toledo Cadets' band; Toledo Cadets; Detroit Infantry band; Detroit Infantry; Washington Infantry band, of Pittsburgh; Washington Infantry; Gatling Gun battery; First Ohio battery.

Second Division.—Uniformed Societies, Colonel Albert Barnitz, commanding. Aids, Captain M. B. Gary, Major A. W. Fenton, Captain E. M. Hessler, Captain C. C. Arms, Captain W. A. Ludlum, Captain W. J. Starkweather. Columbia Commandery, No. 2, Washington, D. C.; Detroit Commandery, No. 1, Detroit; Hugh De Payne Commandery, Buffalo; De Molay Commandery, Louisville, Ky.; Oliva Commandery, Erie, Pa.; Cincinnati Commandery, No. 3, Cincinnati; Reed Commandery, No. 6, Dayton; Toledo Commandery, No. 7, Toledo; Hanselman Commandery, Cincinnati; Mansfield Commandery, No. 21, Mansfield; Erie Commandery, Sandusky; Akron Commandery, Akron, Ohio; Cachté Commandery, Conneaut, Ohio; Eagle Commandery, Painesville, Ohio; Norwalk Commandery, Norwalk, Ohio; Holy Rood Commandery, Cleveland; Oriental Commandery, Cleveland; N. W. Battalion, Uniform Patriarchs, I. O. O. F.; Preux Chevalier

Division, K. of P.; Cleveland Division, K. of P.; Camp Cordes Drill Battalion, I. O. O. F.; other uniform societies not reported.

Third Division.—Veteran Societies, General M. D. Leggett, commanding. Aids, Captain John Crowell, Jr., Captain G. A. Groot, Captain G. H. Foster, Captain J. A. Bennett, Captain P. B. Smith, Lieutenant Fred Kinsman, Jr., Lieutenant Sedmund Clark, George W. Stockley, Forty-second Regiment, O. V. I. (Garfield's regiment); Cuyahoga County Soldiers' and Sailors' Union, excluding all veteran regimental organizations; Grand Army of the Republic; General Lyon Post, East Liverpool, Ohio; Paulus Post, Ashtabula, Ohio; Custer Post, Conneaut, Ohio; Hart Post, Massilon, Ohio; Tod Post, Youngstown, Ohio; Canton Post, Canton, Ohio; Grand Army Post, Pittsburgh, Pa.; other posts of the department of Ohio. Societies—Williams College, Western Reserve University, Hudson; Delta Epsilon Fraternity, Republican Invincibles, Philadelphia; Life Saving Service, Garfield and Arthur Glee Club, Columbus; Independent Order of Foresters, Ancient Order of Foresters, Independent Order of Red Men, Independent Order of Free Sons of Israel, Hungarian Societies, I. O. B. and S. S. B., Verein Deutscher Kriezer, Bohemian Societies, Swiss Beneficial Society, Order of Sons of St. George.

Fourth Division.—Civic Societies, Captain E. H. Bohm, commanding. Aids, Captain L. E. Lambert, Herman Mueller, Ed. Vopaleckey, E. E. Klausman, F. Seelbach, Emil J. Weil and Hermon Schmidt. First

Voters' Battalion, Socialer Turnverein, German Order of Harigari, Trades Unions, Cleveland Lodge, No. 61, K. of P., Bricklayers' Union, No. 5, of Ohio; Garfield and Arthur Escort Corps, of Pittsburgh; Ancient Order United Workmen, of Buffalo; nine Lodges Ohio Division I. O. O. F.

Fifth Division.—Irish and Catholic Societies, Captain M. A. Foran, commanding. Aids, Patrick Reilly, J. P. Darnley, Thomas Humphrey, Jerry Sheehan, P. A. Dempsey, James McNeil, Geo. Kessler, John Knicking, J. J. Jerdra, T. Glidden. Societies.—Irish American Legion, Cleveland; German American Legion, Cleveland; Knights of St. Wincellaus, Cleveland; Knights of St. Louis, Cleveland; Knights of St. George, Cleveland; Hibernian Rifles, Cleveland; St. Cyril and Methodius Societies, Cleveland; St. John's Society, Cleveland; St. Patrick T. A. Society, Cleveland; St. Malachi T. A. Society; Father Mathew Total Abstinence Society, Newburg; Immaculate Conception T. A. Society, Cleveland; Annunciation T. A. Society, Cleveland; St. Patrick's T. A. Cadets, Cleveland; St. Malachi's T. A. Cadets, Cleveland; Ancient Order Hibernians (ten divisions), Cleveland; Knights of Erin, Cleveland; Knights of Erin, Newburg; St. Patrick's Benevolent Society, Cleveland; St. Joseph's Society, St. Peter's Church, Cleveland; St. Joseph's Society, St. Mary's Church, Cleveland; St. Joseph's Society, St. Joseph's Church, Cleveland; St. Stephen's Society, Cleveland; Knights of St. Joseph, Cleveland; Knights of St. John, Cleveland; Young Men's Sodality, Cleveland; St. Anthony's Society, Cleveland; St.

Albert's Society, Cleveland; St. Bridget's Society, Cleveland.

Sixth Division.—Colonel H. N. Wilbeck, commanding. Aids, Captain W. C. Cowein, Captain J. N. Estabrook, Captain T. K. Dissette, Captain D. N. Alvord, Captain Thos. Smith, Captain Henry Gordon, Hon. Joseph Breck, Hon. J. M. Curtiss, James W. Deveney, Frank Brown, C. P. Dryden, William Hanna, W. Horton, Jr. Citizens of Detroit; citizens of Canton; citizens of the Nineteenth Congressional District, and other organized bodies of citizens from abroad.

Seventh Division.—Funeral escort, Colonel John M. Wilson, U. S. A., commanding. Aids, Captain T. A. Kendell, Lieutenant Sanbarn, Lieutenant G. H. Andrews, Lieutenant Bawker, Marine Band of Washington, D. C., Cleveland City Troop, Funeral Car and bearers (detachment of Second U. S. Artillery, under command of Lieutenant Weaver), battalion of Knights Templar, Cleveland Grays.

Eighth Division.—Colonel W. H. Hayward, commanding. Vehicles containing guard of honor; General W. T. Sherman, General P. H. Sheridan, General W. S. Hancock, General R. C. Drum, Admiral D. S. Porter, Pay Director Looker, Surgeon General P. S. Wales, Commodore Carl English, ex-Presidents of the United States, Cabinet officers, members of Diplomatic Corps, Judges of the Supreme Court, United States Senators, Governors of States and their staffs, Members of Congress, Society of the Army of the Cumberland, Mayors of cities, distinguished guests invited by the Secretary of State.

Ninth Division.—Ohio National Guard, General S. P. Smith, Adjutant-General of Ohio, commanding. Consisting of the following companies: Third Regiment O. N. G., Fourth Regiment O. N. G., Fifth Regiment O. N. G., Sixth Regiment O. N. G., Seventh Regiment O. N. G., Eighth Regiment O. N. G., Ninth Regiment O. N. G., Eleventh Regiment O. N. G., Fourteenth Regiment O. N. G., Sixteenth Regiment O. N. G.

The military moved past with reversed guns, draped colors and muffled drums, and in the order detailed above. After the Detroit Company came the Boston Fusileers, an old and time-honored organization. They were followed by Companies B and F, Seventy-fourth Regiment National Guard, State of New York; the Buffalo City Guard Cadets, who were much admired, and the Buffalo City Guard. Next came the famous United States Barracks Band, of Columbus, followed by the Governor's Guard, a magnificent and finely proportioned body of men. The Toledo Cadets made a very handsome showing, and received marked recognition from the spectators for their precision in marching. Much favorable comment was made upon the Washington Infantry of Pittsburgh. The Gatling gun and the Cleveland Light Artillery followed in platoon front, and their appearance delighted the spectators. With erect form and noble carriage came the Knights Templar and Knights of Pythias, whose floating plumes and drawn swords carried one back to the days of "ancient lore." Next came the veterans of the war, who to the inspiring strains of music seemed to forget their

age and infirmities, and marched with the swinging, steady gait they had learned while serving their country in the war.

The fourth, fifth and sixth divisions comprised only civic societies, mostly ununiformed, and the crowd availed every opportunity to rest as it passed. Then every eye was strained and every neck stretched to see the division of honor, the seventh, in charge of Major Wilson. First came the famous Marine Band, of Washington, then the First City Troop, in platoons, and the funeral-car, drawn by twelve black horses, four abreast, which impatiently champed their bits at the slow and solemn progress. The car was surrounded by the guard of honor, composed of detachments from the artillery, the marines, seamen, Cleveland Grays and Washington and Cleveland Knights Templar, in nearly the same order as when the body-guard escorted from the station on Saturday, the Cleveland Grays occupying the extreme left. As the division passed many heads were uncovered, but in the main the crowd was too anxious to see, and even this slight tribute of respect to the illustrious dead was forgotten. Such expressions as "There's Hancock," "there's Blaine," or "there's Sherman," were heard on every hand, and many declared that Grant was a fine-looking man when they had mistaken Admiral Porter for the silent soldier. After the division of honor came the mourners, and many an eye which had but a moment before dilated with admiration at the gay uniforms of the military and naval officers, now filled with tears as they gazed at the carriage in which rode the sor-

rowing widow and the bereaved mother. Grandma Garfield had her veil thrown back, exposing her dear, sweet face and silvery locks, the features drawn by grief.

The scene was a striking one. The gay uniforms of the soldiers, followed by the long line of citizens and the hearse, with its mournful surroundings, made a pageant which was beautiful and imposing. The six miles of Euclid avenue were decorated in a manner becoming the occasion. The designs were varied and handsomely and tastefully arranged. Life-size pictures of the dead President were hung in front of many of the beautiful mansions along the avenue, draped with the national colors and entwined with black crape, relieved by festoons of white. In the lawns in front of a large number of the residences tasteful designs had been erected. Broken shafts surrounded with smilax; massive crosses, shields, anchors, harps and crowns were seen on every hand, elaborately decorated with evergreens and flowers suitable for mourning designs. On Prospect street, second in beauty to Euclid avenue only, and on the other streets leading to the cemetery, there was the same universal expression of mourning by the residents. Elegant silk flags trimmed with black hung from many a staff, and broad bands of crape were stretched from roof to foundation on many of the residences. The Ashtabula Battery, which was stationed along the line of march, divided into two sections three miles apart, fired minute guns as the funeral procession passed. The State militia were stationed at the entrance to the cemetery and on each side of the

driveways leading to the vault, where at Mrs. Garfield's request it was decided to place the remains. The steps to the vault were carpeted with flowers, and on both sides of the entrance were anchors of tuberose and a cross of white smilax and evergreen. Festooned above a heavy black canopy was stretched over the steps from which the exercises were to be conducted.

The procession occupied two hours and a quarter in passing a given point. It was about four miles in length. At 3.30 it entered the gateway of the cemetery, which was arched over with black, with appropriate inscriptions. On the keystone were the words, "Come to Rest;" on one side were the words, "Lay him to rest whom we have learned to love;" upon the other, "Lay him to rest whom we have learned to trust." A massive cross of evergreen issued from the centre of the arch. The United States Marine Band, continuing the mournful strains it had kept up during the entire march, entered first. Then came the Forest City Troop, of Cleveland, who were the escort of the President to his inauguration. Behind them came the funeral car, with its escort of twelve United States artillerymen, followed by a battalion of Knights Templar and the Cleveland Grays. The mourners' carriage and those containing the guard of honor comprised all of the procession that entered the grounds. The cavalry halted at the vault and drew up in line facing it, with sabres presented. The car drew up in front, with the mourners' carriage and those of the Cabinet behind. The band played "Nearer, my God, to Thee," as the military escort lifted the coffin from the car and carried it into the

vault, the local committee of reception, Secretary Blaine, Marshall Henry and one or two personal friends standing at each side of the entrance. None of the President's family, except two of the boys, left the carriages during the exercises, which occupied less than half an hour. Dr. J. P. Robinson, as president of the day, opened the exercises by introducing Rev. J. H. Jones, chaplain of the Forty-second Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, which General Garfield commanded. Chaplain Jones spoke at considerable length of his old comrade-in-arms. A beautiful hymn was rendered by the German singing societies, President Hinsdale, of Hiram College, pronounced the benediction, and the last sad rites over James A. Garfield, the martyr President, were completed. Quite a shower of rain fell while the exercises at the grave were going on, which was the only feature to mar the perfect fulfilment of the day's sad ceremonies. The procession reformed at the cemetery and marched back to the city in the same order that it started from the catafalque.

So ended the last honors the Nation could pay to its Martyred President. Yet his name and fame will live a bright example to all the world, and one of the proudest and most valued possessions of the great people for whom he died.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF GEN. CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and Parentage—College Life—Teaches a Country School—Studies Law—Admitted to Practice—Settles in New York—Marries the Daughter of a Hero—Defends two Fugitive Slaves—Carries his Case to a Triumphant Issue—Appointed Engineer-in-Chief of Governor Morgan's Staff—An Honorable Record—Refuses to accept Presents for his Public Services—His Record on Civil Service Reform—Made Collector of the Port of New York—Puts a stop to Frauds upon the Government—Attempts to fasten Charges of Fraud upon Him are Unsuccessful—Removed from Office by President Hayes—Offered the post of Consul General to Paris—Refuses it—Personal Appearance—Nominated for Vice-President—His Letter of Acceptance.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, was born in Franklin County, Vermont, on the 5th of October, 1830. He is the oldest of a family of two sons and five daughters. His father, the Rev. Dr. William Arthur, a Baptist clergyman, emigrated from the County of Antrim, in Ireland, to this country, in his eighteenth year, and died in Newtonville, near Albany, New York, October 27, 1875. General Arthur was educated at Union College, and was graduated in the class of '49. After leaving college he taught a country school during two years in Vermont, and then.

having managed by rigid economy to save about \$500, he started for New York, and entered the law office of ex-Judge E. D. Culver as a student. After being admitted to the bar, he formed a partnership with his friend, Henry D. Gardiner, with the intention of practising in the West, but in the end they returned to New York, where they entered upon a successful career almost from the start. General Arthur soon afterwards married the daughter of Lieutenant Herndon, United States Navy, who was lost at sea. Mrs. Arthur died only a short time ago.

In 1852, Jonathan and Juliet Lemmon, Virginian slaveholders, intending to emigrate to Texas, came to New York to await the sailing of a steamer, bringing eight slaves with them. A writ of habeas corpus was obtained from Judge Paine to test the question whether the provisions of the Fugitive Slave law were in force in New York State. Judge Paine rendered a decision holding that they were not, and ordering the Lemmon slaves to be liberated. Henry L. Clinton was one of the counsel for the slaveholders. A howl of rage went up from the South, and the Virginia legislature authorized the Attorney-General of that State to assist in taking an appeal. William M. Evarts and Chester A. Arthur were employed to represent the people, and they won their case, which then went to the Supreme Court of the United States. Charles O'Connor espoused the cause of the slaveholders, but he, too, was beaten by Messrs. Evarts and Arthur, and a long step was taken towards the emancipation of the black race. Another great service was rendered by General Arthur in the same cause in 1856. Lizzie Jennings, a respectable colored woman, was put off a New

York street-car with violence, after she had paid her fare. General Arthur sued on her behalf, and secured a verdict of \$500 damages. The next day the company issued an order to permit colored persons to ride on their cars, and the other car companies quickly followed their example.

General Arthur, previous to the outbreak of the war, was Judge-Advocate of the 2d Brigade of the New York State Militia, and Governor Edwin D. Morgan, soon after his inauguration, selected him to fill the position of Engineer-in-Chief of his staff. In 1861 he held the post of Inspector-General, and soon afterward was advanced to that of Quartermaster-General, which he held until the expiration of Morgan's term of office. No higher encomium can be passed upon him than the mention of the fact that, although the war account of the State of New York was at least ten times larger than that of any other State, yet it was the first audited and allowed in Washington, and without the deduction of a dollar, while the Quartermaster's accounts from other States were reduced from \$10,000,000 to \$1,000,000. During his term of office every present sent to him was immediately returned. Among others, a prominent clothing house offered him a magnificent uniform, and a printing house sent him a costly saddle and trappings. Both gifts were indignantly rejected. When Mr. Arthur became Quartermaster-General he was poor. When his term expired he was poorer still. He had opportunities to make millions unquestioned. Contracts larger than the world had ever seen were at his disposal. He had to provide for the clothing, arming, and transportation of hundreds of thousands of men. His own words

in regard to this matter amply illustrate his character. "If I had misappropriated five cents, and on walking down town saw two men talking on the corner together, I would imagine they were talking of my dishonesty, and the very thought would drive me mad."

At the expiration of Governor Morgan's term, Arthur returned to his law practice. Business of the most lucrative character poured in upon him, and the firm of Arthur & Gardiner prospered exceedingly. Much of their work consisted in the collection of war claims and the drafting of important bills for speedy legislation, and a great deal of General Arthur's time was spent in Albany and Washington, where his success won for him a national reputation. For a short time he held the position of counsel to the Board of Tax Commissioners of New York city, at \$10,000 per annum. Gradually he was drawn into the arena of politics. He nominated, and by his efforts elected, the Hon. Thomas Murphy a State Senator. When the latter resigned the collectorship of the port of New York, November 20, 1871, President Grant nominated General Arthur to the vacant position, and four years later, when his term expired, renominated him, an honor that had never been shown to any previous collector in the history of the port. In a letter written to the Secretary of the Treasury, in the winter of 1877, after the New York Custom House Investigating Committee had finished their labors, General Arthur said :

"The subject of civil service reform and the modes of appointment to office is that to which the commission gives most attention. The essential elements of a secret

civil service I understand to be first, permanence in office, which, of course, prevents removals except for cause; second, promotion from the lower to the higher grades, based upon good conduct and efficiency; third, prompt and thorough investigation of all complaints, and prompt punishment of all misconduct. In the face of the misstatements of the commission, and in spite of persistent misrepresentations, I claim that the administration of my office has been characterized by the observance of all these. In this respect I challenge comparison with any department of the Government, and maintain that civil service reform has been more faithfully observed, and more thoroughly carried out, in the New York Custom House than in any other branch or department of the Government, either under the present or under any past national administration. I am prepared to demonstrate the truth of this statement on any fair investigation." He did demonstrate it absolutely from figures and statistics taken from the records of the Custom House, and his letter was unanswerable and has been unanswered. He showed that during his term of over six years in office the percentage of removals was only $2\frac{3}{4}$ against an annual average of 28 per cent. under his three immediate predecessors, and an annual average of about 24 per cent. since 1857, when Collector Schell took office. Of the 923 persons in office prior to his appointment, 531 were still retained on May 1, 1877. As to promotions, Collector Arthur gave statistics which proved that during his whole term the uniform practice was to advance men from the lower to the higher grades, and almost without exception on the recommendation of

the heads of bureaus. All appointments except two to the 100 positions commanding salaries of \$2,000 per year, were made on this plan, and none at all at the instance of outsiders. No such civil service was ever maintained in any other government bureau in the country. It also appeared from the statistics and history of the Custom House, as quoted in the collector's letters, a great number of improvements were introduced during his administration; in fact, that a constant series of reforms were being put into practice. In this connection General Arthur said: "It is not my purpose here to enumerate them all, but I may call your attention to some. The general order system, so called, had been for more than a quarter of a century a constant subject of complaint by the merchants, of investigation by Congress, and of alleged corruption. Since the changes in the system and in the charges for storage introduced five years ago, no whisper of complaint has been heard. By a change in the system of ordering goods for examination, the methods of fraud and corruption by which the Government had lost large sums has been effectually checked. By another change triplicate consular invoices have been for the first time rendered of some value, and frauds in the suppression of invoices and the procurement of appraisement orders, so called, have been stopped. Fraud or misconduct under the former system led to the removal of six or eight officers of the Appraiser's Department. The introduction of a system by which prompt notice is given to merchants of refunds of duties has saved them from imposition and delay in the receipt of moneys due. A change in the liquidating department

has reduced the time needed for the liquidation of entries from months to weeks. Only importers can appreciate the value of this change. The efficiency of the bureau in charge of the public store has been so increased that the complaints of petty pilfering and delays have almost ceased. And in general the efficiency of the entire force, including that immediately under the control of the surveyor, has been so increased as to be greater than at any previous period."

The New York Custom House, during General Arthur's administration, was the best investigated place in the country, but every attempt to find a flaw resulted the same. It came out from each ordeal without a single breath of allegation against its head. It may be that these attempts were made because Collector Arthur stood up so steadfastly for his people. When new administrations come into power, and there are new crowds of office seekers to satisfy, there is apt under such circumstances to be some jarring. It is a fact that the only attempts at violation of the civil service rules were made, not by him, but from Washington. An examination of the Custom House files would reveal many letters from Washington, accompanied by the strongest recommendations, urging the appointment of their bearers to various positions in the New York Custom House, from that of Deputy Collector down. These efforts to violate his system of civil service reform were steadily withstood by Collector Arthur.

General Arthur was admirably fitted to discuss the legal questions continually arising under the manifold revenue laws, and it was his constant habit at the close

of each day's business to carefully go over and settle the many points raised in the correspondence bureau, and by application from merchants. The New York Custom House thus became under his management a reference not only of the Treasury Department, but of nearly all the other Custom Houses in the country, and perhaps no more instructive school could be found than the one where the revenue laws were, under his supervision, daily interpreted.

General Arthur was removed by President Hayes on July 12, 1878, despite the fact that two special committees made searching investigation into his administration, and both reported themselves unable to find anything upon which to base a charge against him. In their pronouncements announcing the change, both President Hayes and Secretary Sherman bore official witness to the purity of his acts while in office. A petition for his retention was signed by every judge of every court in New York, by all the prominent members of the bar, and by nearly every important merchant in the collection district, but this General Arthur himself suppressed. Immediately upon his removal from the New York collectorship, General Arthur was offered by President Hayes the Consul-Generalship at Paris. In a letter acknowledging the tender of the office, General Arthur expressed his appreciation of the compliment, and his regret that his private interests were in such a condition that he could not accept it.

In person General Arthur is over six feet in height, broad-shouldered, athletic, and handsome. He is an ardent disciple of Izaak Walton and a member of the

Restigouche Salmon Fishing Club. He is a man of great culture and wide experience, an able lawyer, with refined tastes, and manners of the utmost geniality.

Although General Arthur's prominence in the party was so great, it was not generally supposed that he would receive either nomination. After the nomination of General Garfield on the 8th of June, the convention adjourned until the afternoon.

The convention began to reassemble at five o'clock.

On the chairman's table stood a large floral effigy of a full-rigged ship floating on a sea of color, in which the name of Garfield was worked in scarlet flowers.

The convention was called to order at 5.30. Lombard's male quartet, of Chicago, opened the proceedings with the song "My Country 'tis of Thee," eliciting much applause and a recall, to which they responded by giving the comic negro campaign song known as "Old Shady."

When the music ceased Mr. Geary, of Maryland, moved that the convention proceed to receive the nomination for a candidate for Vice-President. Adopted.

On California being called, Mr. Pixley rose to put in nomination by his own delegation a nominee for the second place on the ticket. He commended the nomination of Garfield as a strong one, and urged the importance of nominating an equally strong man for the second place. He named Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, whose career in Congress was most creditable, and to whose wise, humane, and manly course in Paris during the Commune the speaker was an eye-witness, a man whose conduct on that occasion should and would draw to the ticket on which he is placed the great mass of the German vote.

While Mr. Pixley was speaking, Mr. Logan was seen talking to the Ohio delegation, apparently in excited remonstrance against their support of the Washburne movement.

Mr. McCarthy, of New York, seconded Washburne's nomination, but the confusion rendered his utterance nearly unintelligible at the reporters' seats. He was understood, however, to eulogize Washburne's career both at home and abroad, and elicited a cordial and hearty applause from the galleries.

Mr. Robinson, of Connecticut, presented the name of Marshall Jewell, of that State.

Mr. Hicks, of Florida, after an earnest presentation of the sufferings of Republicans in the South, because they had the courage of their convictions, presented the name of Thomas Settle, of Florida [applause], whose nomination would help to break the solid South.

Mr. Harris, of North Carolina, a colored delegate, seconded Mr. Settle's nomination as one that would command general approval in the South, because of his services to the Republican party, and his efforts to secure to all men their equal rights before the law. He was the sledge-hammer with which to break the backbone of the solid South.

Mr. Conger, of Michigan, in accordance with the unanimous vote of the Michigan State Convention, said he would have been glad to present the name of Thomas W. Ferry, but he had a letter from the senator absolutely declining the use of his name, and he asked to have it received and made part of the record. Agreed to.

Mr. Houck, of Tennessee, in obedience to the Repub-

lican convention of that State, and the common sentiment of the Republicans of the South, put in nomination Horace Maynard, of Tennessee.

Mr. Frye was called to the chair.

Mr. Woodford, of New York, said the great majority of the delegates from New York came here with the earnest desire and purpose to secure the nomination of General Grant. In this they had been disappointed, but would give the ticket hearty support. In behalf of many of the New York delegation, he presented the name of Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President.

Mr. Dennison, of Ohio, seconded Arthur's nomination. He embraced the occasion briefly, in the name of the Ohio delegation, to thank the convention for their action in nominating General Garfield.

The chairman read a telegram from Oregon to delegate Scott, announcing that the Republicans carried that State by 1,000 majority yesterday, and that Garfield's nomination excited great enthusiasm.

Mr. Kilpatrick, of New Jersey, seconded Arthur's nomination as one well calculated to secure the vote of New York for the ticket.

Mr. Storrs, of Illinois, on behalf of the majority of the Illinois delegation, supported Arthur's nomination, which would be gratifying to the old guard, which, during thirty-six ballots here, had never wavered in its support of the silent old soldier. (Applause.)

Mr. Lynch (colored), of Mississippi, said for the Southern Grant Republicans, that they willingly and heartily concurred in New York's choice, and hoped it would be ratified by the convention.

A Maryland delegation also seconded Arthur's nomination, and said his delegation would sustain it with a solid vote. He regretted that he could not yet promise that Maryland would give a majority for the ticket in November next, but the nomination already made and the one proposed would give Maryland Republicans the best possible opportunity to battle for a political revolution in that State. (Applause.)

Mr. Filley, of Missouri, announced that his State would give thirty votes to Arthur.

Mr. Chambers, of Texas, presented the name of ex-Governor Davis, of that State, and got a little excited by interruptions of those who called "Time" and "Question." Florida withdrew Settle in favor of Arthur. Mr. Cessna, of Pennsylvania, said his delegation was within two votes of a unit for Arthur.

Mr. White, of Kentucky, said his delegation was a unit for Arthur.

Mr. McCarthy, of New York, withdrew his second to Washburne's nomination, and moved that Arthur's nomination be made by acclamation.

The chair ruled that the roll must be called on this ballot, and that Mr. McCarthy's motion was out of order.

Texas withdrew Mr. Davis's name. Mr. Hoar resumed the chair, and stated that it was in order to suspend the rules by a two-thirds vote.

A delegate moved that the rules be suspended, and the nomination of Mr. Arthur be made by acclamation. The motion to suspend was lost.

Roll was called on the ballot, which resulted as follows :

THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT.

The following is the detailed vote for Vice-President:

STATES.	VOTE.	WASHBURNE.	ARTHUR.	DAVIS.	SETTLE.	JEWELL.	WOODFORD.	BRUCE.	MAYNARD.	ALCORN.
Alabama.....	20	...	18	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Arkansas.....	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
California.....	12	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colorado.....	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Connecticut.....	12	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...
Delaware.....	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Florida.....	8	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Georgia.....	22	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Illinois.....	42	18	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indiana.....	30	11	5	...	1	5	1	2	4	...
Iowa.....	22	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kansas.....	10	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kentucky.....	24	...	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Louisiana.....	16	...	10	2	...	...	...	4	...	...
Maine.....	14	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...
Maryland.....	16	...	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Massachusetts.....	26	22	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Michigan.....	22	14	6	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Minnesota.....	10	2	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mississippi.....	16	...	11	...	...	1	...	...	...	4
Missouri.....	30	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nebraska.....	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nevada.....	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Hampshire.....	10	3	3	...	...	4	...	...	...	...
New Jersey.....	13	14	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
New York.....	70	1	69	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Carolina.....	20	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ohio.....	44	2	42	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oregon.....	6	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pennsylvania.....	58	11	47	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rhode Island.....	8	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Carolina.....	14	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tennessee.....	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...
Texas.....	16	5	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vermont.....	10	5	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Virginia.....	22	2	19	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
West Virginia.....	10	9	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wisconsin.....	20	16	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
Carried forward.....	738	189	457	2	1	41	1	8	30	4

TERRITORIES.	VOTE.	WASHBURNE.	ARTHUR.	DAVIS.	SETTLE.	JEWELL.	WOODFORD.	BRUCE.	MAYNARD.	ALCORN.
Brought forward.....	738	189	457	2	1	41	1	8	30	4
Arizona.....	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Dakota.....	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Idaho.....	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montana.....	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
New Mexico.....	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Utah.....	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Washington.....	2	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Wyoming.....	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals.....	756	192	468	2	1	44	1	8	30	4

Five delegates did not vote.

Whole number of votes cast.....	751
Necessary to a choice.....	376
Washburne.....	193
Jewell.....	44
Settle.....	1
Maynard.....	30
Arthur.....	468
Davis.....	2
Woodford.....	1
Bruce, of Mississippi.....	8
Alcorn, of Mississippi.....	4

Mr. Frye, in the chair, said that Mr. Arthur, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was the candidate for Vice-President, and inquired, "Shall the nomination be made unanimous?"

Mr. Haymond, of California, moved that it be made unanimous.

Votes of thanks were then passed to the officers of the convention, and the usual committee of one from each State was authorized to apprise the candidates of their nominations, when the convention adjourned *sine die*.

General Arthur was duly informed of his nomination, and accepted it in an eloquent letter.

CHAPTER II.

THE VICE-PRESIDENCY AND THE PRESIDENCY.

Elected Vice-President—Inaugurated—Sides with the Stalwarts—Informed of the Assassination of the President—Summoned to Washington—Interview with Mrs. Garfield—Grief of General Arthur—Incidents of his Stay in Washington—Returns to New York—Efforts to Induce him to Assume the Presidential Office—His Refusal—Noble and Dignified Conduct of General Arthur—Informed of the President's Death—Takes the Oath of Office as President—Message to the Cabinet—Goes to Elberon—Returns to New York—Back to Long Branch—Attends the Funeral Services—Accompanies the Funeral Party to Washington—Takes the Oath a Second Time—His Inaugural—Takes Part in the President's Funeral at Washington—Remains at Washington—Appoints a Day of Fasting and Prayer—Calls an Extra Session of the Senate.

WE have already, in a previous portion of this work, related the triumphant election of General Arthur to the Vice-Presidency of the United States. It is needless to repeat the figures by which this victory was achieved.

On the 4th of March, 1881, at twelve o'clock noon, the Senate met in extraordinary session for the purpose of participating in the inaugural ceremonies of President-elect Garfield and Vice-President-elect Arthur. Immediately thereafter General Arthur entered the Chamber escorted by the committee appointed by the Senate for that purpose. When the business of organizing the new Senate had been concluded he was

formally introduced to the Senate by the retiring Vice-President Wheeler, after which he took the oath of office and delivered a brief but eloquent inaugural, and assumed his place as the second officer of the Republic.

During the contest which subsequently ensued between Senator Conkling and President Garfield, General Arthur sided actively with the New York Senator. After the resignation of Senators Conkling and Platt, and the adjournment of the United States Senate, Vice-President Arthur proceeded to Albany, and took an active part in the Stalwart campaign, lending all his influence to secure the re-election of Senators Conkling and Platt.

The news of the assassination of President Garfield was at once telegraphed by Secretary Blaine to Vice-President Arthur. It was felt by the entire Cabinet that it was necessary for them to be in communication with the Vice-President, in case the wound should prove speedily fatal. Four telegrams were sent by Secretary Blaine during the day, but no answer was returned to either. Postmaster-General James then telegraphed to New York as follows :

“ WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 2d.*

“ Secretary of State has telegraphed Vice-President Arthur four times to-day. The gravity of the situation requires that we should communicate with him at once. Can you tell us where a telegram will reach him ?

“ T. L. JAMES, Postmaster-General.”

The following reply at once came to hand at 8 P. M. :

“ To T. L. JAMES :—I have nothing officially regard-

ing the President's condition. I have relied upon newspaper accounts. I hope to hear more favorable tidings. Please answer at once. Please present my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Garfield.

"C. A. ARTHUR."

The rejoinder to this was an earnest request to come to Washington at once, and General Arthur accordingly left New York on the midnight train in company with Senator Jones of Nevada, and reached Washington at six o'clock on the morning of July 3d. The two gentlemen drove to the residence of Senator Jones on Capitol Hill, and after remaining there a while went to the Arlington hotel. Early in the day the Vice-President expressed to Attorney-General MacVeagh and others an earnest desire to see the President. He was informed that it was thought best that no one except the physicians, members of the family and attendants should be allowed in the room, and that it was necessary that the President should have perfect quiet. Senator Jones called at the White House several times during the day. He spoke invariably of Arthur's deep depression over the situation.

Vice-President Arthur called at the Executive Mansion shortly after nine o'clock that evening and paid his respects and expressed his sympathy with Mrs. Garfield and her family. We have already given an account of this touching interview in another portion of this work, and it is needless to repeat it. All present were impressed with the noble and manly bearing and the profound sorrow of the Vice-President. During the day General Arthur remained in communica-

tion with the members of the Cabinet, and was guided by their suggestions in all his actions.

On the 4th of July—the saddest national anniversary the country has ever known—General Arthur remained at Senator Jones' residence all the morning. He did not retire to rest on the previous night until the last bulletin was announced from the White House. The Vice-President was not reassured by the news in the bulletins during the day. He had shared the opinion of those in attendance upon the President that the latter was improving. He went to bed, however, with the consciousness that the doctors were disposed to believe that the President could not recover. General Arthur received early information as to the condition of General Garfield this morning. He was kept constantly informed of what was taking place at the White House, and was buoyed up with some of the views which he received. Senator Jones kept messengers going to and from the White House, and in addition to the information thus received the Vice-President himself sent every hour for additional news. General Arthur went out for a while in the evening, but for the rest of the day remained in doors. He saw no callers except a few personal friends, and to these he did not talk except to inquire what news they had of the President's condition. He anxiously read every bit of information he could obtain, and seemed to especially relish the news when it was reported that Dr. Bliss had said early in the day that the President was in good condition, with a fair chance of recovery. This appeared to nerve General Arthur, but a subsequent

report of the gloomy remarks made by Dr. Agnew, of Philadelphia, as to General Garfield's condition, were not reassuring. In this state of suspense the Vice-President passed the day and evening.

A gentleman who saw him at the time thus writes of the Vice-President :

“As General Arthur sat in Senator Jones' parlor to-night he looked like a man full of anxiety and sorrow. He scarcely spoke a word to his friend the Senator, and often did not answer questions that were put to him. Aside from the grief which the Vice-President feels for the President in his deplorable condition, there is the dreadful sense of the great responsibility that must be laid upon him if the President should not recover.”

The correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing on the 5th of July, says :

“Vice-President Arthur has been much indisposed to-day. The unfavorable news of last evening, which he received hourly by messengers, had the effect of keeping him from sleeping, and he passed a miserable night. This morning he was much fatigued and denied himself to all callers. Senator Jones and General Arthur passed the forenoon together, and those who called to see the Vice-President were notified by attendants that they could not be gratified, as the General was not well. He looks several years older than when he arrived here. Seated in one of the parlors of Senator Jones' residence the Vice-President appeared pale and haggard this morning. He looked like a man who was in great sorrow, and was making every effort to

appear calm. He says nothing. Great injustice has been done him by the published reports of utterances he is alleged to have made to newspaper correspondents and to Senator Jones. General Arthur has told nothing of his feelings to any of the correspondents, who have, instead, reported what they imagined he should have said. The man is bowed down by thought, and his feelings are not of the nature to be expressed to every idler who calls upon him. He is keenly sensitive of the position in which he has been placed by the assassination of the President, and has been very careful to keep his sorrow to himself and to see and address no one but his intimate personal friends. He has been utterly misrepresented by the wholly unauthorized reports sent broadcast over the country, and he is too sensitive to personally contradict them. He came here at the solicitation of the members of the Cabinet, and proposes for the present to act under the directions of its members while he is in Washington. Should the President recover he will have shown his sympathy for his trouble, while, should the President die, he will be on hand to take the oath of office as President, and thus prevent an interregnum. Whether it may be necessary for him to do anything not advised by the Cabinet cannot, of course, be now determined. There can be no doubt of the cordial agreement that at present exists between the Vice-President and the Secretaries, and Mr. Blaine is pronounced in his admiration of General Arthur's course thus far. Even those who dislike the Vice-President personally or politically agree in saying that his demeanor since the attempted assassination has been most proper.

“During the afternoon the Vice-President visited the White House. He was accompanied by Senator Jones. General Arthur did not see the President. He might have done so, only the wounded Chief Magistrate was asleep and it was not deemed advisable to disturb him. The Vice-President remained in the Cabinet-room for about three-quarters of an hour. Secretary Blaine talked with him for a time, and the party was increased later by the presence of Secretaries James and Hunt. Mr. Blaine and the other Cabinet officers informed the Vice-President of the favorable condition of the President, and General Arthur said that he was more than pleased at the turn affairs had taken. The gentlemen remained in the Cabinet-room all the time during his stay in the White House, and when Senator Jones left with his guest he cordially invited Mr. Blaine and his colleagues in the Cabinet to visit General Arthur.

“This invitation was accepted by Mr. Blaine, and early in the evening he and Secretaries Hunt, Windom and Lincoln went to Senator Jones’ residence, on Capitol Hill. They were ushered into the parlor on the second floor and there met the Vice-President. Secretary Blaine again informed General Arthur of the promising condition of the President, and said that since the visit of the Vice-President General Garfield had shown further signs of improvement. General Arthur said he hoped and prayed that the symptoms would continue as favorable, and declared that he was overjoyed to think that there was reason to suppose that the President would live. He had steadily hoped that there would be no necessity for him to assume the

Presidency, and now he thought his hopes would be realized in the recovery of the President.

“The members of the Cabinet were very courteous to the Vice-President and the best of feeling prevailed. The call of the Secretaries was merely a social one and will be repeated to-morrow. General Arthur again passed the night at Senator Jones’ house. He received hourly bulletins from the White House, all of which were of a reassuring character.”

General Arthur remained in Washington several days, and then, as the President continued to improve, returned to New York.

The long illness of President Garfield proved a sore trial to General Arthur. His position was a very delicate one, and he was constantly beset by reporters and correspondents who sought to draw from him his views on the condition of affairs. To these he returned a courteous, but firm refusal to converse upon the subject, and all through the sad period bore himself with a manly firmness which won for him the admiration of the entire nation.

It was urged by an influential party toward the latter part of the President’s sickness, that the inability of the executive to discharge the duties of his office was such as was contemplated by the framers of the National Constitution, and that it was the plain duty of the Vice-President to assume the office of Chief Magistrate, and proceed to administer the government. To all these suggestions the Vice-President turned a deaf ear. He was willing to take such a step if summoned thereto by the Cabinet, but would, for

himself, await the course of events, in the meantime joining earnestly in the prayers of the nation for the President's recovery. He made no secret of his utter reluctance to go to Washington while the President lived. The manly delicacy thus exhibited by the Vice-President won him many friends, even among those who had previously been his political enemies. In this frame of mind he calmly and sadly awaited the course of events, remaining almost the whole time at his residence in New York, and denying himself to all visitors save a few of his most intimate friends.

Immediately after the death of the President the members of the Cabinet, present at Elberon, united in the following telegram to the Vice-President :

"HON. CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

"No. 123 Lexington avenue, New York :

"It becomes our painful duty to inform you of the death of President Garfield, and to advise you to take the oath of office without delay. If it concurs with your judgment we will be very glad if you will come down on the earliest train to-morrow morning.

"WILLIAM WINDOM,

"Secretary of the Treasury.

"WILLIAM H. HUNT,

"Secretary of the Navy.

"THOMAS L. JAMES,

"Postmaster-General.

"WAYNE MACVEAGH,

"Attorney-General.

"L. J. KIRKWOOD,

"Secretary of the Interior."

The Vice-President immediately replied as follows :

“NEW YORK, *September 19.*”

“HON. WAYNE MACVEAGH,

“Attorney-General, Long Branch :

“I have your telegram, and the intelligence fills me with profound sorrow. Express to Mrs. Garfield my deepest sympathies.

“CHESTER A. ARTHUR.”

In accordance with the advice of the Cabinet, General Arthur decided to take the oath without delay, and Judges Brady and Donohoe, of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, were at once sent for. Judge Brady arrived at the residence of the Vice-President, in company with Messrs. Rollins and Root, at ten minutes before two, but the ceremony was out of courtesy deferred until Judge Donohoe's arrival at a little after 2 o'clock, with ex-Commissioner French. On Judge Donohoe's arrival General Arthur rose from his seat in the library and advanced to the front parlor. It is a large room. The carpet is soft and deep and of a dark tint. Heavy curtains to match the carpeting hang from the large French windows. Oil paintings by old masters hang from the ceiling. Despatches, books and writing materials were scattered all over the large table that stands in the centre. General Arthur stood behind this table, facing the window. He had gained his composure; and his eye was clear, and his manner dignified. The gas in the library was burning dimly, and his fine, tall form stood out grandly from the dark background. Old allegorical pictures loomed out from

the darkness—pictures of conquests and of triumphs, of defeat and despair—and above all was the white marble bust of Henry Clay. Judge Brady stood on the other side of the table, facing General Arthur. Grouped around the two men were Judge Donohoe, Elihu Root, Commissioner French, Daniel G. Rollins and General Arthur's son. Judge Brady slowly advanced a step and slowly raised his right hand. General Arthur did likewise. A moment of impressive silence followed. General Arthur's features were almost fixed. Then Judge Brady administered the oath. General Arthur, speaking in a clear, ringing voice, said :

“I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

After this he remained standing a moment longer, his hand still raised. No one spoke, nor did the President afterwards give expression to any emotion.

Soon after this President Arthur sent the following telegram to the members of the Cabinet :

“NEW YORK, *September 20.*

“I have your message announcing the death of President Garfield. Permit me to renew through you the expression of sorrow and sympathy which I have already telegraphed to Attorney-General MacVeagh. In accordance with your suggestion I have taken the oath of office as President before the Hon. John R. Brady, Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York. I will soon advise you further in regard to the other suggestion in your telegram.

“C. A. ARTHUR.”

Early on the morning of the 20th President Arthur left New York for Long Branch. He reached that place at 1.15 P. M., and drove at once to Attorney-General MacVeagh's cottage. After an informal conference with the members of the Cabinet, the President walked over to Elberon Cottage and left a card of sympathy for Mrs. Garfield. He then returned to New York. On the 21st he again returned to Long Branch, took part in the funeral ceremonies at Elberon, and accompanied the funeral train to Washington, where he became the guest of Senator Jones. During the remainder of the day and evening he remained in strict seclusion.

Early on the morning of the 22d the members of the Cabinet repaired to the residence of Senator Jones, to call on the President. During the forenoon a number of the members of the two Houses of Congress called to pay their respects. This was ended at half-past eleven, and a little later the President and Cabinet went over to the east front of the Senate wing of the Capitol, which they entered, then went directly to the room of the Vice-President, the magnificent marble chamber north of the Senate Chamber. When they went in nobody outside of their circle who saw them seemed to know what was on foot. It was not until the Chief-Justice of the United States, clad in his dark robes of office, was seen approaching from the main corridor that it was guessed that the President was about to go through the formality of taking the oath of office as President at the hands of the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court. This was considered but a formality,

as Mr. Arthur had been sworn in New York early on Tuesday morning. It was thought by the Cabinet, however, that it would be as well to follow a custom which had been established by having the oath administered by the highest judicial officer in the country. The scene when the oath was taken was impressive in the extreme. At the right of the President stood Senator Jones and Speaker Sharpe, of New York. Ex-President Hayes was a conspicuous figure well in the foreground, with General Grant but a few steps behind. All of the Cabinet were present. Of the Senators there were present Hale, Jones, Sherman, Dawes and Anthony, and Representatives Hiscock, McCook, Townsend and others. During the ceremony ex-President Hayes sat near ex-President Grant. The administration of the oath was followed by the President's brief inaugural, which he read from manuscript.

Secretary Blaine was the first one to grasp the President's hand when he had finished reading his address. The Secretary was followed by members of the Cabinet and by others present. There were about forty witnesses in the room. An important Cabinet meeting followed the ceremonies. This meeting lasted nearly an hour. The first official act of the new President was then performed. It was the issuance of a proclamation designating Monday, September 26th, as a day of humiliation and prayer on account of the death of the late President. The members of the Cabinet then one after another tendered their resignations. This formality was expected. The President made no intimation as to whether they would or would not be

accepted. He simply asked them to continue to administer the business of their respective departments.

On the 23d of September, President Arthur attended the funeral ceremonies of his martyred predecessor, and accompanied the remains to the railway station. It was his wish to go with the funeral party to Cleveland, but in view of the facts that a railway journey of such length is always dangerous, and that an attempt might be made upon his life by some fanatic, and that in the event of his death the country would be without an official head, there being no Vice-President, President of the Senate, or Speaker of the House, the Cabinet advised him to remain in Washington, and he consented to do so.

On the 23d of September, President Arthur issued his proclamation summoning the Senate of the United States to convene in extraordinary session on the 10th of October, 1881.

APPENDIX.

Not only did the dastardly attempt of the assassin Guiteau plunge the nation into the gloom of sorrow, but it entailed upon it an extraordinary burden of pecuniary expense.

President Garfield was shot on the second day of July, died on the 19th of September, and was buried, or placed in a tomb, on the 26th of September, in all eighty-five days. Congress will be called upon to defray the expenses of the sickness and of the funeral. It is also understood that Congress will be called upon to vote a sum of money to Mrs. Garfield. It will be remembered that when the illustrious Lincoln

was assassinated Congress managed to vote his widow a pension of \$3,000 a year. It is quite probable that Congress will vote Mrs. Garfield the full salary of the President for the year, which will give her, say \$25,000. An effort will be made to give her a pension of \$5,000. Should that be done, a demand will be made to increase Mrs. Lincoln's pension to that amount. Mrs. Garfield is now well provided for; an income of at least \$12,000 a year is already secured. If she obtains a pension of \$3,000, her regular income during her life cannot fall short of \$15,000 a year. In addition to this, the widow will doubtless have about \$100,000, and in a pecuniary point of view, she will be vastly better off than the widow of the lamented Lincoln.

Mr. Private Secretary Brown, who has attended to all the purchases of the President's sick-room and receipted for all goods received, estimates the cost of the President's sickness at \$100,000, which would be at the rate of \$1,250 a day. Of this cost the doctors' bills will form the largest item, say \$53,000. Of this amount Dr. Bliss will want \$25,000, Drs. Agnew and Hamilton \$12,000 each, Dr. Reyburn \$3,000, and Mrs. Dr. Edson \$1,000. Drs. Woodward and Barnes will get nothing, unless Congress chooses to recognize their services as being not strictly in the line of their duty as army officers. It is thought that the total cost of drugs will not exceed \$500.

Such things as beef extract, koumiss, whisky, brandy, and wine were all donated, and there is said to be a vast accumulation of drugs, patent medicines, liquors, etc., at the White House, forwarded from all parts of the country, which will doubtless be given to the poor of Washington. The Pennsylvania Railroad moved the President to Long Branch, brought the remains back to Washington, and took them to Cleveland, for which, it is understood, no charge will be made.

The expenses at Elberon are set down at \$1,000. The funeral ceremonies at the capital are estimated at \$1,000, including the decoration of buildings. The cost of the trip to Cleveland for Senators and Representatives, hire of carriages, etc., is estimated at \$5,000, cost of telegraphic messages, \$2,000; undertakers' bills are estimated at \$5,000, and it now looks as though \$100,000 would meet every demand, but there is a possibility that much more will be required. The State of Ohio pays all expenses of transportation of body, escort, etc., after passing State line, estimated as follows:

Pay of troops for four days.....	\$5,000
Transportation.....	3,000
Subsistence	4,000
Artillery service.....	1,000
Transportation of body.....	1,000
Miscellaneous.....	10,000
Total.....	\$24,000

At Cleveland the expenses are estimated as follows:

Catafalque	\$3,000
Arches.....	5,000
Transportation Escort Committee.....	150
Funeral car.....	1,500
Decorations	} 1,000
Horses.....	
Hearse.....	
Carriages.....	2,500
Music.....	2,000
Extra police.....	2,500
Accommodations.....	100,000
Floral decorations on catafalque and arches, contributed by private parties.....	2,000
Same contributed by other cities.....	1,000
Decorations of other public buildings	3,000
Decorations on private buildings.....	100,000
Total.....	\$223,650

These figures show a grand total of expenditures for sickness and funeral of \$347,650, of which the United States will pay, say, \$100,000, leaving \$247,650 for Ohio, Cleveland, and private individuals.

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